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LIVES:

VOLUME *the* THIRD.

CONTAINING

TIMOLEON.	ARISTIDES.
PAULUS EMILIUS.	MARCUS CATO.
PELOPIDAS.	PHILOPOEMEN.
MARCELLUS.	T. Q. FLAMINIUS.

Translated from the GREEK.



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MDCCLXIX.



THE
L I F E
O F
T I M O L E O N.

THE Affairs of the *Syracusians*, before *Timoleon* was sent into *Sicily*, were in this Posture: After *Dion* had driven out *Dionysius* the Tyrant, he was slain by Treachery; and Those that had assisted him in delivering *Syracuse* were divided among themselves; so that the City, by a continual change of Governors, and a train of Mischiefs that succeeded each other, became almost desolate and forsaken. As for the rest of *Sicily*, part thereof was now utterly destroy'd and ruin'd, through a long continuance of the Wars, and most of the Cities that had been left standing, were seiz'd upon by a mixt Company of *Barbarians*, and Soldiers under no Pay, that were ready to embrace every Turn of Government. Such being the State of Things, *Dionysius* takes the Opportunity, and in the tenth year of his Banishment, by the help of some Foreign Troops he had got together, forces out *Nyseus*, then Master of *Syracuse*, recovers all afresh, and was again settled in his Dominion. And as he had

been at first strangely depriv'd of the greatest and most absolute Power that ever was, by a very small Party ; so now, after a more wonderful manner, from an Exile, and of mean condition, he became the Sovereign Lord of Those that had ejected him. All therefore that remain'd in *Syracuse* were made to serve under a Tyrant, who at the best was of an ungentle Nature, and was then exasperated to a greater degree of Savageness, by the late Misfortunes and Calamities he had suffer'd. But Those of the better sort, and such as were of Note and Eminence, having timely retir'd thence to *Iceles*, who bore sway over the *Leontines*, they put themselves under his Protection, and chose Him for their General in the War ; a Person hardly preferable to any of Those that were open and avowed Tyrants : But they had no other Sanctuary at present, and it gave them some ground of confidence, that he was both of a *Syracusan* Family, and had an Army besides able to encounter That of *Dionysus*. In the mean time the *Carthaginians* appear'd before *Sicily* with a great Navy, watching when and where they might make a Descent upon the Island ; the Terror of which Fleet made the *Sicilians* incline to send an Embassy into *Greece*, that should demand Succours from the *Corinthians*, whom they did address to and confide in rather than any others, not only upon the account of their near Kindred, and by reason of the great Benefits they had often received by trusting them heretofore, but because *Corinth* had ever shewn herself an entire Lover of Freedom, and the most averse from Tyranny, by the many expensive Wars she had engag'd in, not upon the score of Empire and Avarice, but for the sole Liberty of *Greece*. But *Iceles*, who made it the business of his Command, not so much to deliver the *Syracusans* from other Tyrants, as to enslave them to Himself, carry'd on a Correspondence with the *Carthaginians* in secret, while in publick he commended the Design of his *Syracusan* Clients, and dispatch'd Ambassadors from himself, together with Those which They sent into *Peloponnesus* ; not that he really desir'd there should come any Relief from

from thence, but, in case the *Corinthians* (as it was likely enough) should, by reason of the Troubles of *Greece*, and those Diversions that were given them at home, refuse their Assistance, he hoped then he should be able with less difficulty to dispose and incline things for the *Carthaginian* Interest, and so make use of these foreign Pretenders, as Instruments and Auxiliaries for himself, either against the *Syracusians*, or their common Enemy *Dionysius*, as occasion serv'd; and that This was what he had in view came to be known soon after. In the mean time the Ambassadors being arriv'd, and their Request known, the *Corinthians*, who were wont to have a particular Concern for all their Colonies and Plantations, but especially for That of *Syracuse*, since by good Fortune too there was nothing to molest them in their own Country, but they enjoyed Peace and Leisure at that time, did readily and with one Accord pass a Vote for their Assistance. The next thing to be consider'd was the Choice of a Captain for that Expedition, and whilst the Magistrates of their City were nominating and proposing several Persons, that had made it their Care and Study to be esteem'd among them, one of the *Plebeians* standing up, happen'd to name *Timoleon*, the Son of *Timodemus*, who had not 'till then concern'd himself in publick business, and had neither any hopes of, nor the least pretension to an Employment of that nature; inso-much that the thing was thought to proceed from a divine Instinct, and that some God had put it into the Man's heart to mention him; so great Indulgence of Fortune did then immediately appear at his Election, and so much of her Favour did accompany his following Actions, as it were on purpose to recommend his worth, and add some Grace and Ornament to his Personal Virtues. If you regard his Parentage, both *Timodemus* his Father, and his Mother *Demariste*, were of a Noble and Illustrious Rank in that City; as for himself, he was a mighty lover of his Country, and one of admirable meekness towards all, excepting that extreme hatred he bore to Tyrants and wicked Men. His natural Abilities for

the War were so happily temper'd, and of that excellent and even mixture, that, as a rare and extraordinary Prudence might be seen in all the Enterprises of his younger years, so a strange firmness of Mind, and the most undaunted Courage did attend him still, even to the last Exploits of his declining Age. He had an Elder Brother, whose Name was *Timophanes*, One of a different make, and every way unlike him, being indiscreet and rash, and corrupted with a love of Monarchy, by the suggestion of some lewd Friends, and foreign Soldiers, which he kept always about him. He seem'd to be a Man of Courage, and to have a certain Force and Vehemence in all Attempts, and even to delight in Dangers, whereby he took much with the People, and upon that account did not only aspire, but was advanc'd to the highest Charge, as a vigorous and effective Warrior; for the obtaining of which Offices and Promotions, *Timoleon* did very much assist him, either by wholly concealing, or at least lessening and diminishing his Errors, at the same time magnifying and adorning whatever was commendable in him, and setting off his good Qualities to the best Advantage. It happen'd once in a Battle of the *Corinthians* against Those of *Argos* and *Cleone*, that *Timoleon* serv'd among the Infantry, when *Timophanes*, commanding their Cavalry, was brought into extraordinary danger, for his Horse being wounded fell forward, and threw him headlong amidst the Enemies, whereupon part of his Companions were presently dispers'd through a sudden fear, and the small number that remain'd, bearing up against a great Multitude, had much ado to maintain the Fight, and make any long resistance. As soon therefore as *Timoleon* was advertis'd of his Danger, he run hastily in to his Brother's rescue, and covering the fallen *Timophanes* with his Buckler, after having receiv'd abundance of Darts, and several Strokes by the Swords into his Body and his Armour, he at length with much difficulty oblig'd the Enemies to retire, and brought off his Brother alive, and safe out of that desperate extremity. Not long after This the *Co-*
inthians,

Corinthians, for fear of losing their City a second time, as they had done once before by means of their Associates, made a Decree to entertain 400 Strangers for the security thereof, and gave *Timophanes* the Command over them. He, without any regard to Honour and Equity, made use of this Power so as to render himself absolute, and bring the Place under subjection ; and having for that purpose cut off many principal Citizens, uncondemn'd, and without Trial, that were most likely to hinder his Design, he declar'd himself King of *Corinth*. This Procedure did infinitely afflict the good *Timoleon*, as reckoning the wickedness of such a Brother to be his own Reproach and Calamity. He therefore at first endeavour'd to persuade him by his Discourse to renounce those ambitious Measures, and in time bethink himself how to make the *Corinthians* some amends, and find out an Expedient to remedy and correct the Evils he had done them. But when his single Admonition was rejected and condemn'd by him, he makes a second and more powerful Attempt, taking with him one *Æschylus* his Kinsman, Brother to the Wife of *Timophanes*, and a certain Prophet or Diviner that was his Friend, whom *Theopompus* in His History calls *Satyrus*, but *Ephorus* and *Timæus* mention in *Theirs* by the Name of *Orthagoras*. After a few Days then he returns to his Brother with this Company, all three of them surrounding and earnestly importuning him upon the same Subject, that now at length he would listen to sober Counsel, and use Reason, and be of another mind, but when *Timophanes* began first to laugh at the Mens Simplicity, and being vehemently press'd, fell afterwards into a Rage and Indignation against them, *Timoleon* stepped aside from him, and stood weeping, with his Face cover'd, while the other two, drawing their Swords, dispatch'd him in a moment. The rumour of this Fact being soon scatter'd about, the better and more generous sort of the *Corinthians* did highly applaud *Timoleon* for his detestation of Improbability, and extol the greatness of his Soul, that contrary to the natural Sweetness and Gentleness of his Disposition,

position, and notwithstanding his known Affection and Piety to Those of his own Family, he should however think the Obligations to his Country much stronger than the Tyes of Consanguinity, and prefer that which is handsom and just, before Gain and Interest, and his own particular advantage : For the same Brother, which with so much Bravery had been sav'd by him, when he fought valiantly in the cause of *Corinth*, he had now as nobly Sacrificed, for enslaving her afterwards by his base and treacherous Usurpation. But then, on the other side, Those that knew not how to live in a Democracy, and had been us'd to make their humble Court unto the Men of Power, though they did openly pretend to rejoice at the death of such a Tyrant, yet secretly reviling *Timoleon*, as One that had committed the most impious and abominable Act, they cast him into a strange Melancholy and Dejection. And when he came to understand how heavily his Mother took it, and that She likewise did utter the saddest Complaints and most terrible Imprecations against him, he went to satisfy and comfort her for what had been done, but she wou'd not so much as look upon him, but caus'd the Doors of her House to be shut, that he might have no admission into her Presence ; the grief whereof did so disorder his Mind, and make him grow so extremely disconsolate, that he determin'd to put an end to that perplexity with his Life, and starve himself by abstaining from all manner of Sustenance ; 'till through the care and diligence of his Friends, who were very instant with him, and added Force to their Intreaties, he came to resolve and promise at last, that he would endure Living, provided it might be in Solitude, and remote from Company : So that, quitting all civil Transactions, and his former Commerce with the World, for a long while after his first Retirement, he never came into *Corinth*, but wandred up and down the Fields, full of anxious and tormenting Thoughts, and spent his time in those desert places, that were at the farthest distance from Society and human Intercourse. Which Behaviour of his may give us occasion to observe, that the

the Minds of Men are easily shaken and carry'd off from their own Sentiments, through the casual Commendation or Reproof of others, unless the Judgments that we make, and the Purposes we conceive, be confirm'd too by Reason and Philosophy, which give strength and steadiness to our Undertakings ; for an Action must not only be just and laudable in its own nature, but it must proceed likewise from solid Motives, and a lasting Principle, that so we may fully and constantly approve the thing, and be perfectly satisfy'd in what we do : For otherwise having once finish'd a Design, and brought our Resolution to practice, we shall out of pure weakness come to be troubled at the Performance, when the Grace and Goodliness thereof begins to decay and wear out of our Fancy, which render'd it before so amiable and pleasing to us. As it happens to those liquorish sort of People, that seizing on the more delicious Morsels of any Dish with a keen Appetite, are presently disgusted when they grow full, and find themselves oppress'd and uneasy now, by what they had before so greedily desired : For a succeeding dislike is enough to spoil the very best of Actions, and Repentance makes That which was never so well done, to become base and faulty ; whereas the Choice and Procedure that is founded upon Knowledge and wise Reasonings, does not change by Disappointment, or suffer us to repent, though it happen perchance to be less prosperous in the issue. And therefore *Phocion of Athens*, having vigorously oppos'd *Leosthenes* his mad Undertaking, which however did succeed contrary to his Opinion, and all the appearance of things ; when he saw the *Athenians* fall to sacrifice, and look very big and haughty upon a Victory that was gotten by him, *Now it is done*, says he to them, *I shou'd be glad to have been the Author, but I must still approve of my own Advice.* But *Aristides the Locrian*, one of *Plato's* Companions made a more sharp and severe Reply to *Dionysius* the elder, who demanding one of his Daughters in Marriage ; *I had rather*, says he to him, *see the Virgin in her Grave, then in the Palace of a Tyrant.* And
when

when the same *Dionysius*, enrag'd at the Affront, made his Sons be put to Death a while after, and did then again insultingly ask, *Whether he were still in the same mind as to the disposal of his Daughter?* His answer was, *I cannot but grieve at the cruelty of thy deeds, but am not a whit sorry for the freedom of my own Words.* Now such Expressions as These may peradventure pass for the Effects of a more sublime and accomplish'd Virtue, which every Man cannot attain to.

But as for the passionate disorder of *Timoleon* upon the late Fact, whether it arose from a deep commiseration of his Brother's Fate, or the Reverence he bore his Mother, it did so shatter and dissolve his Spirits, that for the space of almost twenty years he had not offered to concern himself in any honourable or publick Action. When therefore he was pitch'd upon for General, and joyfully accepted as such by the Suffrages of the People, *Teleclides*, one of the greatest Power and Reputation in *Corinth*, began to exhort him, that he would act now like a Man of Worth and Gallantry: For, says he, *if you appear magnanimous, and do bravely in this Service, we shall then believe that you delivered us from a Tyrant; but if you behave yourself basely, and come off ill, it will be thought by All that you kill'd your Brother.* While he was yet preparing to set Sail, and lifting Soldiers to embark with him, there came Letters to the *Corinthians* from *Icetes*, that plainly discover'd his Revolt and Treachery; for his Ambassadors were no sooner gone for *Corinth*, but he openly join'd himself to the *Carthaginians*, and furthered them in their Designs, that They likewise might assist Him to throw out *Dionysius*, and become Master of *Syracuse* in his room. And fearing he might be disappointed of his Aim, if any considerable Force and a skilful Leader should come from *Corinth* before this was effected, he sent a Letter of Advice thither in all haste, to prevent their setting out, telling them, *they needed not be at any cost and trouble upon his account, or run the hazard of a Sicilian Expedition, especially since the Carthaginians would dispute*

dispute their Passage, and lay in wait to attack them with a numerous Fleet, whom he had himself now engag'd, (being forc'd thereto by the slowness of their Motions) to lend him all necessary Assistance against Dionysius. This Letter being publickly read, if any had been cold and indifferent before, as to the Expedition in hand, yet the Indignation they conceiv'd against the double dealing of *Iceles*, did now exasperate and inflame them all, inso-much that they willingly contributed to supply *Timoleon*, and jointly endeavour'd to hasten his departure.

When the Vessels were equipped, and his Soldiers every way provided for, the Female Priests of *Proserpina* had a Dream or Vision, wherein she and her Mother *Ceres* appear'd to them in a travelling Garb, and were heard to say, that they would sail with *Timoleon* into *Sicily*; whereupon the *Corinthians* having built a sacred Galley, it was devoted to Them, and call'd the Galley of the Goddesses. *Timoleon* went in Person to *Delpbi*, where he sacrific'd to *Apollo*, and descending into the place of Prophecy, he was surpris'd with this marvellous Occurrence; A Wreath, or Garland interwoven with Crowns and Trophies, slipped off from among the Gifts that were there consecrated and hung up in the Temple, and fell directly down upon his Head; so that *Apollo* seem'd already to crown him with Success, and send him thence to conquer and triumph in that Enterprize. He put to Sea only with seven Ships of *Corinth*, two of *Corcyra*, a tenth which was furnish'd out by the *Leucadians*. Being now enter'd into the Deep by night, and carry'd with a prosperous Gale, the Heaven seem'd all on a sudden to be rent in sunder, and a bright spreading Flame to issue from the Division, and hover over the Ship wherein he was, which having form'd itself into a Torch, not unlike those that are us'd in their Religious Mysteries, began to steer the same course, and move along in their Company, guiding them by its light to that Quarter of *Italy*, where they design'd to go ashore. The Soothsayers affirm'd that this Apparition did agree with that Dream of the holy Women, and

and make good what they had happily foretold, since the Goddesses did now visibly join in the Expedition, and set up that heavenly Lamp to march before them as a Convoy; *Sicily* being thought sacred to *Proserpina*; for Poets feign, that the Rape was committed there, and that the Island was given her in Dowry when she was married to *Pluto*. Now these early Demonstrations of Divine Favour did mightily encourage his whole Army; so that making all the Sail they were able, and nimbly crossing the Sea, they were soon brought upon the Coast of *Italy*: But the Tidings that came from *Sicily* did very much perplex *Timoleon*, and dishearten his Soldiers; for *Icetes* having already beaten *Dionysius* out of the Field, and reduc'd the greater part of *Syracuse* itself, did now straiten and besiege him in the Citadel, and that Remnant which is call'd *the Isle*, whither he was lately fled for his last Refuge; while the *Carthaginians*, by agreement, were to make it their business to hinder *Timoleon* from Landing in any Port of *Sicily*; so that He and his Party being driven back, they might with more ease, and at their own leisure, divide the Island among themselves. In pursuance of which Design, the *Carthaginians* sent away twenty of their Gallies to *Rbegium*, having aboard them certain Ambassadors from *Icetes* to *Timoleon*, that carry'd Instructions suitable to these Proceedings, which were nothing else but specious Amusements and plausible Stories, to colour and conceal his knavish Purposes; for the Men had Order to propose and demand, *That Timoleon himself (if he lik'd the Offer) should come to advise with Icetes, and partake of all his Conquests, but that he might send back his Ships and Forces unto Corinth, since the War was in a manner finish'd, and the Carthaginians had block'd up all the Road, resolving to repel Force with Force, and oppose them if they should press towards the Shore.* When therefore the *Corinthians* met with these Envoys at *Rbegium*, and receiv'd their Message, and saw the *Punick* Vessels riding at Anchor in the Bay, they became deeply sensible of the Abuse that was put upon them, and had

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a general Indignation against *Icetes*, and mighty apprehensions for the poor *Sicilians*, whom they now plainly perceiv'd to be as it were a Prize and Recompence betwixt the Falshood of *Icetes* on one side, and the Ambition of *Carthage* on the other; for it seem'd utterly impossible to force and overbear the *Carthaginian* Ships that lay before them, and were double their number, as also to vanquish the late Victorious Troops which *Icetes* had with him in *Syracuse*, for the Conduct and Relief whereof they had undertaken that Voyage. The Case being thus, *Timoleon* after some Conference with the Legates of *Icetes*, and the *Carthaginian* Captains told them, he should readily submit to their Proposals, (for it would be to no purpose to refuse Compliance;) he was desirous only before his Return to *Corinth*, that what had pass'd between them in private, might be solemnly declar'd before the People of *Rhegium*, which was a *Grecian* City, and a common Friend to both Parties; for this would very much conduce to his own Security and Discharge; and They likewise would more strictly observe such Articles of Agreement, on behalf of the *Syracusians*, which they had oblig'd themselves to in the presence of so many Witnesses. The Design of all which was, only to give them Diversion, while he got an Opportunity of slipping through their Fleet: A Contrivance that all the principal *Rhegians* were privy and assisting to, who had a great desire that the Affairs of *Sicily* should fall into *Corinthian* hands, but dreaded nothing so much as the consequence of a *Punick* Neighbourhood. An Assembly was therefore call'd, and the Gates shut, that the Burghers might have no liberty to scatter and apply themselves to other Business: Being met together, they made tedious Harangues, and spoke one by one upon the same Argument, without driving the matter to any certain Head, but purposely spinning out the time by that and other artificial ways, till the *Corinthian* Galleys should get clear of the Haven, the *Carthaginian* Commanders being detain'd there without any suspicion, because *Timoleon* was still present, and gave Signs as if he were just

now preparing to make an Oration. But upon secret notice that the rest of the Gallies were already gone off, and that His only remain'd waiting for Him, by the Help and Concealment of those *Rbegians* that were about the Chair, where they made Speeches, and favour'd his Departure, he made a shift to slide away through the Crowd, and running down to the Port, hoisted up Sail with all speed; and having reach'd his other Vessels, they came all safe to *Tauromenium* in *Sicily*, whither they had been formerly invited, and where they were now kindly receiv'd by *Andromachus* the Guardian and Ruler of that City. This Man was Father of *Timæus* the Historian, and incomparably the best of all Those that bore sway in *Sicily* at that time; for he govern'd his Citizens according to Law and Justice, and had ever openly profess'd an aversion and enmity to all Tyrants; upon which account he gave *Timoleon* leave to muster up his Troops there, and to make that City a Place of Arms, persuading the Inhabitants to join with the *Corinthian* Forces, and assist them in the Design of delivering *Sicily*. But the *Cartbaginians* who were left in *Rbegium* perceiving, upon breaking up of the Assembly, that *Timoleon* had given them the Go-by, were not a little vex'd to see themselves out-witted, which did occasion much Pastime and Pleasantness to the *Rbegians*, who could not choose but smile and rally them, when they heard those exquisite Masters in all *Cunning* and *Subtily*, to complain of fraudulent and deceitful Doings. However they dispatch'd a *Messenger* aboard one of their Gallies to *Tauromenium*; who after much blustering in the *Barbarick* way, and mighty Menaces to *Andromachus*, if he did not forthwith send the *Corinthians* packing, stretched out his Hand with the inside upward, and then turning it down again, threatned he would handle their City just in that fashion, and turn it topsy-turvy in as little time, and with as much ease. *Andromachus* then laughing at the Mans boisterous Confidence, made no other reply, but in contempt thereof, fell to imitate his *Legerdemain*, and bid him presently be gone, unless he had a mind to see that kind of Dexterity practis'd

practis'd first upon the Galley which brought him thither. *Icetes* being certified that *Timoleon* had made good his Passage, he was in great fear of what might follow thereupon, and sent to desire the *Cartbaginians*, that more Gallies might be order'd to attend and secure the Coast. And now it was that the *Syracusians* began wholly to despair of Safety, seeing the *Cartbaginians* possess'd of their Haven, *Icetes* Master of the City, and *Dionysius* commanding in the Fortress; whereas *Timoleon* had as yet but a very slender footing in *Sicily*, which he only seiz'd upon as it were by the Fringe or Border in that small City of the *Tauromenians*, with a feeble Hope, and weak Hand; for he had but 1000 Soldiers at the most, and no more Provisions either of Corn or Money, than were just necessary for the maintenance and the pay of that inconsiderable number. Nor did the other Towns of *Sicily* confide in him, being lately over-run with Violence and Outrage, and exasperated against all Commanders in general, for the sake chiefly of *Calippus* an *Asbenian*, and *Pbarax* a *Lacedæmonian* Captain, and the mischiefs they had suffer'd by their Treachery; for Both of them having given out that the Design of their coming was to introduce Liberty, and depose Tyrants, they did so Tyrannize themselves, that the Reign of former Oppressors seem'd to be a golden Age, if compar'd with the Lordliness and Exaction of these pretended Deliverers, who made the *Sicilians* reckon Them to be far more happy that did expire in Servitude, than Any that had lived to see such a dismal Freedom; so that looking for no better Usage from this *Corinthian* General, but imagining that the same Devices and Wheadles were now again set afoot, to allure and sweeten them by fair Hopes and kind Promises into the Obedience of a new Master, they did all generally (unless it were the People of *Adranum*) suspect the Exhortations, and reject the Overtures that were made them in his Name. Now these were Inhabitants of a City small of itself, but consecrated to *Adranus* (a certain God that was in high Veneration throughout *Sicily*) and they happen'd then to

be at variance among themselves, insomuch that one Party call'd in *Icetes* and the *Cartibiginians* to assist them, while the other sent Addresses to *Timoleon*, that He would come and espouse their Quarrel. Now it so fell out, that these Auxiliaries, striving which should be there soonest, did both arrive at *Adranum* about the same time; *Icetes* brought with him at least 5000 fighting Men; but all the Force *Timoleon* could make did not exceed 1200: With These he marched out of *Tauromenium*, which was above forty two Miles distant from that City. The first Day he mov'd but slowly, and took up his Quarters betimes after a short March; but the Day following he quickned his pace; and having pass'd through many difficult Places, towards Evening he receiv'd advice that *Icetes* was newly come to *Adranum*, and lay encamp'd before it: Upon which Intelligence, his Captains and other Officers caused the Vanguard to make a halt, that the Army being refresh'd, and having repos'd a while, they might engage the Enemy with greater Briskness. But *Timoleon* coming up in haste, desired them not to stop for that Reason, but rather use all possible diligence to surprize the *Icetians*, whom probably they would now find in Disorder, as being just come off their March, and taken up at present in erecting Tents, and preparing Supper; which he had no sooner said, but laying hold on his Buckler, and putting himself in the Front, he led them on as it were to a certain Victory; the Braveness of such a Leader made them all follow him with a like Courage and Assurance. They were now within less than thirty Furlongs of *Adranum*, which having soon got over, they immediately fell in upon the Enemy, that was seiz'd with Confusion, and began to retire at their first Approaches; whence also it came to pass, that amidst so little Opposition, and so early and general a Flight, there were not many more than 300 slain, and about twice the number made Prisoners, but their Camp and Baggage was all taken. The Fortune of this Onset soon oblig'd the *Adranitans* to unlock their Gates, and embrace the Interest of *Timoleon*.

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Timoleon. They recounted to him a strange Afrightment, and with great Admiration, how at the very Minute that he was engaged, the Doors of their Temple flew open of their own accord, that the Javelin which their God held in his Hand was observ'd to tremble all over, and that Drops of Sweat had been seen running down his Face. These Omens did not only presage the Victory that was then gotten, but were also a Presage of his future Exploits and Successes, to which the Felicity of this Action gave him so fair an Entrance: For now all the neighbouring Cities sent Deputies one upon another, to seek his Friendship, and tender him their Service; among the rest, *Mamercus* the Tyrant of *Catana*, both a stout Warrior and a Wealthy Prince, struck up an Alliance with him; and, what was of greater Importance still, *Dionysius* himself being now grown desperate, and well nigh forc'd to surrender, began to despise *Iketes*, as one shamefully baffled; but much admiring the Valour of *Timoleon*, found means to advertise Him and his *Corinthians*, that he was desirous to deliver up Himself and the Arsenal into their hands. *Timoleon*, gladly embracing this unlook'd-for Advantage, sends away *Euclides* and *Telamachus*, two *Corinthian* Captains, with 400 Men, for the Seizure and Custody of the Castle, who had Directions to enter not all at once, or in open view (for that was not to be done while the Enemy kept a Guard upon the Haven) but only by stealth, and in small Companies. And so they took possession of that Fortrefs, and the Palace of *Dionysius*, with all the Stores and Ammunition he had prepar'd and laid up as useful to maintain the War; for they found in it a good number of Horses and all manner of Engines, and a multitude of Darts, and Weapons to arm out 70000 Men, that he had been a long time getting together, besides 2000 Soldiers that were then with him, which he gave up likewise among the rest for *Timoleon's* Service. But *Dionysius* himself putting some Treasure and a few Friends aboard, sail'd away without the knowledge of *Iketes*; and being brought to the Camp of *Timoleon*, he there

appear'd for the first time in the lowly Guise and ignoble Equipage of a private Person, and was shortly after sent to *Corinth* with a single Ship, and a small Sum of Money. He who had been born and educated in the most splendid Court, and the most absolute Monarchy that ever was, which he held and kept up for the space of ten years after his Father's Death, and since the Attempts of *Dion*, who constrain'd him to quit the Empire, had spent twelve years more in a continual Agitation of Wars and Scufflings, and great variety of Fortune; during which time all the Mischiefs and Vexations of his former Reign were abundantly repaid and outdone by those Evils and Calamities which he then suffer'd; for he liv'd both to see the Funeral of his Sons, who died in the Prime and Vigour of their Age, and the Rape of his Daughters, in the Flower of their Virginitie: He had another mortifying sight too, from the abuse and prostitution of his own Sister that became his Wife, who being first villainously treated, and her Person expos'd to all the Lust and Lewdness of the Common Soldiery, was then murder'd with her Children, and their Bodies cast into the Sea; the particulars whereof I have more exactly related in the Life of *Dion*.

Upon the Fame of his Landing at *Corinth*, there was hardly a Man in *Greece* who had not the Curiosity to come and view the late formidable Tyrant, and discourse with him: Some rejoicing at his Disasters, were led thither out of meer Spite and Hatred, that they might have the Pleasure of seeing him in such a despicable state, and of trampling on the Ruins of his broken Fortune; but Others, who made a serious and good-natur'd use of that Accident, did so consider the Change, as to reflect upon it with Pity and Compassion, contemplating withal that marvellous and mighty Power, which Invisible and Divine Causes do exercise here below in the great and notorious examples of Human Weakness: For neither Nature nor Art did in that Age produce any thing comparable to this Work and Wonder of Providence, which shewed the very same Man, that was not long before

Supreme

Supreme Monarch of *Sicily*, holding Conversation now in the Shambles, or sitting whole Days in a Perfumer's Shop, or drinking the diluted Wine of Taverns, or squabbling in the Street with common Strumpets, or pretending to instruct the Musical in their Odes, and seriously disputing with them, about the Measure and Harmony of certain Airs that were sung in the Theatre. Which Behaviour of his met with different Censures; for being Lustful and Vicious in himself, and of an immodest Temper, he was thought by Many to do this, out of pure Compliance with his own natural Inclinations: But the finer sort of Judges were of Opinion, that all this while he was acting a sly Politick part, with design hereby to be more contemn'd among them; that the *Corinthians* might not suspect or dread him, as if he did ill brook such a Vicissitude of Fortune, and were secretly contriving ways to undermine the State, or advance himself to his former Dignity: For prevention of which Surmises, and those Dangers they might create him, he did purposely seem delighted with many sordid things that were against his Genius, and affect an appearance of much ridiculous Folly, in the choice and manner of all his publick Divertisements. However it be, there are certain Sayings and Repartees of his left still upon Record, which sufficiently declare, that he was not dejected under so great a Fall, and whereby it seems he did handsomly accommodate himself to his present Circumstances; as may appear in part from the Ingenuity of that confession, when being come to *Leucadia*, which was a *Corinthian* Colony as well as *Syracuse*, he told the Inhabitants thereof, *That he found something in himself not unlike the Passion and Humour of those Children, who had been guilty of some Misdemeanour; for as they did cheerfully converse among their Brethren, but were asham'd to come into their Father's presence; so likewise should He gladly reside with them in that Island, but that he had a certain awe upon his Mind, which made him fearfully decline the sight of Corinth, that was a common Mother to them Both.* But the thing is further evident, from that

Reply

Reply he once made to a Stranger in *Corinth*, who deriding him in a very rude and scornful manner, about the Conferences he us'd to have with Philosophers, whose Company had been so delightful to him, while yet a Monarch, and demanding, in fine, what his Highness was the better now for all those wise and learned Discourses of *Plato*? Do you think, says he, *I have made no advantage of his Philosophy, when you see me bear the late Alteration in my Fortune, and this Insolence of yours, with such an even Temper?* And when *Aristoxenus* the Musician, and several others, desir'd to know wherein *Plato* had offended him, and what was the ground of his Displeasure to that worthy Man? He made answer, *That the Condition of Sovereign Princes, being attended with many other Misfortunes, had this great Infelicity above all the rest, That none of Those who were accounted their Friends, and had the liberty of Favourites, would venture to speak freely, or tell them the plain honest Truth, and that it was owing to their evil Counsels, and false Representations, that he had been depriv'd of Plato's Kindness, the only Person from whom he was like to hear it.* At another time, one of those pleasant Companions, that are desirous to pass for Wits or Humourists, in Abuse and Mockery to *Dionysius*, as if he were still the same guarded and suspicious Tyrant, fell himself to examine and shake his own Cloke as he was entering into the Room, where He was, to shew there were no hidden Daggers or conceal'd Weapons about him. But *Dionysius* wounded the Man with the sharpness of his own Jest, in retorting smartly, *Do you bear, Friend, it would be more satisfactory from one of your thievish Looks, and I should like it much better, if you would thus open and shake your Garment, when you depart hence, that I might be sure you had stolen nothing out of my Chamber.* And when *Philip* of *Macedon*, as they two were carousing together, began to talk after a drolling way about the Verses and Tragedies which his Father, *Dionysius* the Elder, had left behind him, and pretended to wonder how he could get any time from his other Business, to
compose

compose such elaborate and ingenious Pieces, he reply'd very much to the purpose; *It was at those leisurable Hours, when such as you and I, and All that seem or count themselves the happy Men, were employ'd in Merriment and Revelling, and the sottish Follies of Intemperance.* Plato had not the opportunity of seeing *Dionysius* at *Corinth*, being already dead before he came thither; but *Diogenes* of *Sinope*, at their first meeting in the Street there, saluted him with this ambiguous Expression, *O Dionysius, how little dost thou deserve to live thus!* Upon which *Dionysius* stopp'd, and reply'd, *I am much oblig'd to thee, Diogenes, that thou dost so kindly commiserate my case, and seem to be concern'd for the Disasters that have befallen me.* Dost thou imagine then, says *Diogenes*, that I condole with thee for what has happen'd? And am not rather heartily vex'd, that such a Slave as thou, who if thou hadst thy due, shouldst have been let alone to grow old, and die in the wretched State of Tyranny, as thy Father did before thee, should now enjoy the quietness and ease of private Persons, and be here at thy own Disposal, to sport and frolick it in our Society. So that when I compare with the Words of this Philosopher, those sad Stories of *Philistus*, touching the Daughters of *Leptines*, where he makes pitiful moan on their behalf, as fallen from all the Blessings and Advantages of powerful Greatness to the Miseries of an humble Life, they seem to me like the Lamentations of a poor Lady, who had lost her Box of Ointment, and her purple Colouring, and her golden Trinkets. Now that which I have inserted here, is agreeable enough to my Design of writing Lives and representing the true Characters of Men, neither will it, I presume, be thought useless and impertinent, by such Readers as are not in too much haste, or busied and taken up with other Concerns.

But if the unhappiness of *Dionysius* appear strange and extraordinary, we shall have no less reason to admire at the good Fortune of *Timoleon*, who within fifty Days after his landing in *Sicily*, both recover'd the Citadel of *Syracuse*, and sent *Dionysius* an Exile into *Peloponnesus*.

Which

Which lucky beginning did so animate the *Corinthians*, that they order'd him a supply of 2000 Foot, and 200 Horse, who being come as far as *Tburium*, intended to cross over thence into *Sicily*; but finding all beset with *Cartbaginian* Ships, which made the Road unpassable, they were constrain'd to stop there, and watch their opportunity: which time however was employ'd in a noble Action; for the *Tburians* going out to War against those of *Brutium*, left their City in charge with these *Corinthian* Strangers, who defended it as carefully as if it had been their own Country, and then resign'd it up again with the Justice and Faithfulness of honest Guardians.

Ieetes in the interim continu'd still to besiege the Castle of *Syracuse*, and hinder'd all Provisions from coming in by Sea, to relieve the *Corinthians* that were in it. He had engag'd also, and dispatch'd towards *Adranum*, two foreign Soldiers to assassinate *Timoleon*, who at other times did not use to have any standing Guard about his Person, and was then altogether secure, diverting himself without Jealousy or Caution among the Citizens of that Place, through the Confidence he had not only in Them, but in the Favour and Protection of their God *Adranus*. The Villains that were sent upon this Enterprize, having casually heard that *Timoleon* was about to sacrifice, came directly into the Temple with Poniards under their Clokes, and pressing in among the Crowd, by little and little got up close to the Altar; but as they were just looking for a Sign for each other to begin the Attempt, a third Person struck one of them over the Head with a Sword, who suddenly falling down, neither He that gave the Blow, nor the Partisan of Him that receiv'd it, kept their Stations any longer; but the One making way with his bloody Sword, put no stop to his Flight, till he gain'd the top of a certain lofty Precipice, while the Other laying hold of the Altar, besought *Timoleon* to spare his Life and he would reveal to him the whole Conspiracy. His Pardon being granted, he confess'd, that both himself and his dead Companion were

were sent thither purposely to slay him. While this Discovery was making, He that had kill'd the other Conspirator, being forced from his Sanctuary on the Rock, loudly and often protested as he came along, that there was no injustice in the Fact, for he only took righteous Vengeance for his Father's Blood, of a Man that had formerly murder'd him in the City of *Leontium*; and for the Truth of This he appeal'd to several that were there present, who All attested the same, and could never enough admire the hidden, and imcomprehensible Methods of Providence, which by making one Thing spring from Another, and by bringing together the most distant Events, ties them as it were to the same Chain of Accidents, that seem to have no Relation, or Agreement with One Another, and makes use of natural Causes to produce Effects, which don't cease to be natural, how strange and wonderful soever they may appear. The *Corinthians* therefore being satisfy'd as to the Innocence and Equity of this Action, did honour and reward the Author with a Present of ten *Minæ*, because he made use of his own just Indignation, to gratify the good Genius or Guardian Angel of *Timoleon*, and did not spend those Resentments he had treasur'd up of old before that time, but luckily deferr'd the Revenge of a private Quarrel for His Preservation.

But this so fortunate an Escape, had Effects and Consequences beyond the present; for it inspir'd the *Corinthians* with mighty Hopes and future Expectations of *Timoleon*, seeing the People now reverence and protect him as a sacred Person, and One sent by God to avenge and redeem *Sicily*. *Iceles* having miss'd of his aim in this Enterprize, and perceiving also that Many went off, and sided with *Timoleon*, he began to chide himself for his foolish Modesty, that when so considerable a Force of the *Carthaginians* lay ready to be commanded by him, he should employ them hitherto by degrees and in small numbers, introducing these Auxiliaries by stealth, and after a sneaking clandestine manner, as if he had been ashamed of the Action. Therefore now laying aside his former

former Niceness and Caution, he calls in *Mago* their Admiral, with his whole Navy, who presently set sail, and seiz'd upon the Port with a formidable Fleet of at least 150 Vessels, and landing there 60000 Foot, took up his own Lodgings in the City; so that in all Mens opinion, the time anciently talk'd of, and long expected, wherein *Sicily* should be over-run by a barbarous People, was now come to its fatal period; for in all their preceding Wars, and so many desperate Conflicts with those of *Sicily*, the *Cartbaginians* had never been able, before This, to take *Syracuse*; but *Icetes* then receiving them, and putting the City into their hands, you might see it become now as it were a Camp of these *Barbarians*. By this means the *Corinthian* Soldiers that kept the Castle, found themselves brought into great Danger and Hardship; for beside that their Provision grew scarce, and they began to be in want, because the Havens were strictly guarded and block'd up, the Enemy did exercise them still with Skirmishes and Combats about their Walls, and they were not only oblig'd to be continually in Arms, but to divide and prepare themselves for Assault and Encounters of every kind, and to sustain the shock of all those forcible Engines and Instruments of Battery which are devis'd and made use of by such as besiege Cities.

Timoleon however made a shift to relieve them in these Straits, sending Corn from *Catana* by small Fisher-Boats and little Skiffs, which taking the Advantage of bad Weather commonly got a Passage through the *Cartbaginian* Gallies, which at the same time were driven and dispers'd by the Tempestuousness of the Season. When This was observ'd by *Mago* and *Icetes*, they agreed to fall upon *Catana*, from whence these Supplies were brought in to the Besieged, and accordingly put off from *Syracuse*, taking with them their prime chosen Men, and the stoutest Soldiers in their whole Army. *Leo* the *Corinthian*, (who commanded in the Citadel) taking notice that the Enemies which stay'd behind, were very negligent and careless in keeping Guard, made a sudden

ally upon them as they lay scatter'd, wherein killing some, and putting Others to flight, he took and possess'd that Quarter which they call *Acradina*, and was thought to be the best and strongest, and the most entire part of *Syracuse*, a City made up and compacted as it were of several Towns put together : Having thus stor'd himself with Corn and Money, he did not abandon the place, nor retire again into the Castle, but fortifying the precincts of *Acradina*, and joining it by certain Works to the Citadel, he undertook the defence of Both. *Mago* and *Icetes* were now come near to *Catana*, when a Horseman dispatch'd from *Syracuse*, brought them tidings that *Acradina* was taken ; upon which they return'd in all haste with great Disorder and Confusion, having neither been able to reduce the City they went against, nor to preserve That they were masters of before.

In this Action the *Corinthians* seem to have ow'd less to Fortune than to their own Courage and Conduct, whereas in That which follows the whole Glory may justly be ascrib'd to Fortune ; for the *Corinthian* Soldiers which stay'd at *Thurium*, partly for fear of the *Carthaginian* Gallies, which lay in wait for them under the Command of *Hanno*, and partly because of the tempestuous Weather which had lasted for many days, took a Resolution to march by Land over the *Brutian* Territories, and what with Persuasion and Force together, made good their Passage through those *Barbarians* to the City of *Rhegium*, the Sea being still rough and raging as before. But *Hanno*, not expecting the *Corinthians* would venture out, and supposing it would be in vain to wait there any longer, bethought himself, as he imagin'd, of a very notable Stratagem, and such a cunning Invention, as would be apt to delude and insnare the Enemy ; in pursuance of which Subtilty, he commanded the Seamen to crown themselves with Garlands, and adorning his Gallies with Bucklers both of the *Greek* and *Punick* make, he sail'd away for *Syracuse* in this triumphant Equipage, and using all his Oars as he pass'd under the Castle with much Clapping and noisy Laughter,

on purpose to dishearten them, through a Belief that he came from vanquishing the *Corinthian* Succours, which he fell upon at Sea, as they were passing over into *Sicily*. While he was thus trifling and playing these Fooleries before *Syracuse*, the *Corinthians*, now come as far as *Rhegium*, observing the Coast clear, and that the Wind was laid as it were by a Miracle, to afford them in all appearance a quiet and smooth Passage, went immediately aboard on such little Barks and Fisher-boats as were then at hand, and got over to *Sicily* with so much safety and in such a dead Calm, that they drew their Horses by the Reins, swimming along by the Sides of their Vessels. When they were all landed, *Timoleon* came to receive them, and presently took in *Messina* by their means, from whence he march'd in good Order to *Syracuse*, trusting more to Fortune and his late prosperous Achievements, than his present strength; for the whole Army he had then with him, did not exceed the number of 4000; however *Mago* was troubled and fearful at the first notice of his coming, but grew more apprehensive and jealous still upon this occasion. The Marshes about *Syracuse*, that receive a great deal of fresh Water, as well from Springs and Fountains, as from Lakes and Rivers discharging themselves into the Sea, do breed abundance of Eels, which may be always taken there in great quantities, by any that will fish for them. Now the mercenary Soldiers that serv'd on both sides, were wont to follow that Sport together at their vacant hours and upon any cessation of Arms. These being all Greeks and having no Cause of private Enmity to each other, they would venture bravely in Fight, so in the times of Truce they did meet and converse amicably together and at that time happening to be employed about the common business of Fishing, they fell into various Conference, Some expressing their admiration as to the nature and fruitfulness of that Sea, and Others expressing how much they were taken with the Convenience and commodious Situation of the adjacent Places, which gave a hint to one of the *Corinthian* Party to demand thus of

the Others: *And is it possible that You, who are Grecians born, should be so forward to reduce a City of this Greatness, and endu'd with so many rare Advantages, into the State of Barbarism; and lend your Assistance to plant Carthaginians, that are the worst and bloodiest of Men, so much nearer to us? whereas you should rather wish there were many more Sicilies to lie between Them and Greece: Have you so little sense as to believe, that they come hitber with an Army from Hercules his Pillars, and the Atlantick Sea, to hazard themselves for the establishment of Icetes? Who, if he had had the Consideration which becomes a General, would never have thrown out his Ancestors and Founders, to bring in the Enemies of his Country in the room of them, but might have enjoy'd all suitable Honour and Command, with the Consent of Timoleon and the Corinthians.* The Greeks that were in Pay with Icetes, noising these Discourses about their Camp, gave Mago some ground to suspect (who had long sought for a Pretence to be gone) that there was Treachery contriv'd against him; so that albeit Icetes intreated him to tarry, and made it appear how much stronger they were than the Enemy; yet conceiving they came far more short of Timoleon, both as to Courage and Fortune, than they could surpass him in Number, he presently went aboard, and set sail for *Africa*, letting *Sicily* escape out of his hands with Dishonour to himself, and for such unknown Causes, that no human Reason could give an account of his Departure. The day after he went away, Timoleon came up before the City, in Battle-array; but when He and his Company both heard of their sudden Flight, and saw the Haven empty, they could not forbear laughing at the Cowardise of Mago, and by way of Mockery caus'd Proclamation to be made, that He should be well rewarded for his Intelligence, who could bring them tidings whither it was that the *Carthaginian* Fleet had convey'd itself from them. However Icetes resolving to fight it out alone, and not quitting his hold of the City, stuck close to those Quarters he was in possession of, as Places that were well fortify'd, and not easy to

be attack'd, *Timoleon* divided his Forces into three parts, and fell upon that side himself where the River *Anapus* runs, and which was most strong and difficult of access, commanding Others that were led by *Isius*, a *Corinthian* Captain, to make their Assault from the Post of *Acradina*, while *Dinarchus* and *Demaretus*, that brought him the last Supply from *Corinth*, should with a third Division attempt that Quarter which is call'd *Epipolæ*. So that a forcible Impression being made from every side at once, the Soldiers of *Icetes* were beaten off and put to flight. Now that the City came to be taken by Storm, and fall suddenly into their hands, we must in all justice ascribe to the Valour of the Combatants, and the wise Conduct of their General; but that not so much as a Man of the *Corinthians* was either slain or wounded in the Action, That the good Fortune of *Timoleon* seems to challenge for her own Work, as striving out of a Jealous Fondness, to exceed and obscure His Fortitude by Her extraordinary Favours; that Those who should hear him commended for his noble Deeds, might rather admire the Happiness than the Merit of them: For the Fame of what was done, did not only pass through all *Sicily*, and run over *Italy* in a trice, but even *Greece* itself after a few days came to ring also with the greatness of his Exploit; insomuch that Those of *Corinth*, who could hardly believe their Auxiliaries were yet landed on the Isle, had tidings brought them at the same time that they were both safe and Conquerors; in so prosperous a course did Affairs run, while Fortune added Haste and Quickness as a new Ornament, to set off the native Lustre of that Performance. *Timoleon* being Master of the Citadel, avoided the Error which *Dion* had been guilty of before; for he spar'd not that Place for the beauty and sumptuousness of its Fabrick, but declining the Causes of that Suspicion, which did first slander, and then destroy him, he made a publick Crier give notice, that all the *Syracusians* who were willing to have a hand in the Work, should bring Pickaxes and Mattocks, and other Instruments, and help him to demolish that Fort-

ref

parts, *Anapausus* of Tyranny. When they all came up with one accord, looking upon that Order and that Day as the surest foundation of their Liberty, they not only pull'd down the Castle, but over-turn'd the Palaces and Monuments adjoining, and whatever else might preserve any Memory of former Tyrants. Having soon levell'd and clear'd the Place, he immediately caused a Common-Hall to be erected there for the Seat of Judicature, gratifying the Citizens by this means, and building Popular Government on the Fall and Ruin of Tyranny. Tho' the City was thus recover'd out of the Hands of Tyrants and Foreigners, yet was it a Place destitute of Inhabitants, Many of whom had perish'd in the course of the Civil Wars, and Seditions, and Others had withdrawn to escape the Tyrants; so that the Market-place was overgrown with such Quantity of rank Herbage, that it became a Pasture for their Horses, the Grooms lying along in the Grass as they fed by them. Most of the other Towns were likewise desolate, and became Harbours for Stags and wild Boars; insomuch that They who had Leisure went frequently a Hunting, and found Game enough in the Suburbs, and under the Walls; whilst None of Those, who had possessed themselves of Castles, or made Garrisons in the Country, cou'd be persuaded to quit their Strong-Holds, or listen to any Invitation of returning back into the City; so much did they All dread the very Name of Assemblies, Corporations, and Tribunals, which they look'd on as so many Nurseries of Tyranny. Hereupon *Timoleon*, and the small Remains of the *Syracusians*, considering that vast Desolation, and how little hope there was to have it otherwise supplied, thought good to write unto the *Corinthians*, that they would send a Colony out of *Greece*, to Re-people *Syracuse*, for else the Land about it would be so ruin'd as never to recover itself. At the same time they expected to be involv'd in a greater War from *Africa*, having News brought them, that *Mago* had kill'd himself, and that the *Cartbaginians*, out of Rage for his ill Conduct in the late Expedition, had caused his

Body to be nail'd upon a Cross, and that they were raising a mighty Force, with design to make another more formidable Descent upon *Sicily* the next Summer. These Letters from *Timoleon* being delivered at *Corinth*, and the Ambassadors of *Syracuse* beseeching them at the same time, that they would take upon them the Care of their poor City, and once again become the Founders of it, the *Corinthians* were so far from taking Advantage of their Calamities, or appropriating that City to themselves, that in the first Place they made Proclamation by their Heralds in all those Places where the Games and Exercises, which they term sacred in *Greece*, are celebrated, and their solemn Meetings of greatest confluence, declaring that the *Corinthians* having destroy'd the Usurpation that was at *Syracuse*, and driven out the Tyrant, did thereby call home the *Syracusan Exiles*, and any other *Sicilian* that would come and dwell in the City, to an enjoyment of freedom under their own Laws, with promise that the Land should be divided among them in just and equal Proportions. And after This, sending Messengers into *Asia*, and the several Islands, where they understood that most of the scatter'd Fugitives did then reside, they made it their Request, that they would all repair to *Corinth*, upon assurance that the *Corinthians* would afford them Vessels, and Commanders, and a safe Convoy, at their own Charges; which noble Achievement of theirs, and such a generous Proposal, being thus spread about, they had the due Tribute, and most honourable Recompence of Praise and Benediction, for delivering the Country from Oppressors, and saving it from *Barbarians*, and restoring it at length to the rightful Owners of the Place; who when they were assembled at *Corinth*, and found how insufficient their Company was, besought the *Corinthians*, that they might have a fresh Supply of other Persons, as well out of Their City as the rest of *Greece*, to cohabit with them, which being made up to the number of 10000, they sail'd together unto *Syracuse*. By this time great Multitudes from *Italy* and *Sicily* had flock'd in to *Timoleon*, so that, as *Athanas* the Historian reports,

reports, their entire Body did amount now to sixty thousand Men; among These he divided the Land, but sold the Houses for a thousand Talents; by which Contrivance he both left it in the power of the old *Syracusians* to redeem their Own, and rais'd a Stock for the Community, which had been so much impoverish'd of late, and was so unable to defray other Expences, and especially Those of a War, that they expos'd their very Statues to Sale, a kind of regular Process being form'd in the Business, and sentence of Auction pass'd upon each of them by most Voices, as if they had been so many Criminals and condemn'd Persons: But it is said, the *Syracusians* did then agree to exempt and preserve the Statue of *Gelo*, one of their Ancient Kings, when all the rest were doom'd to suffer a common Sale, in Admiration and Honour of the Man, and for the sake of that Victory he got over the *Carthaginian* Forces at the River *Himera*.

Syracuse being thus happily reviv'd, and replenish'd again by a general Concourse of its Inhabitants from all Parts, *Timoleon* was desirous now to rescue the other Cities from the like Bondage, and once for all to extirpate Arbitrary Government out of *Sicily*. For this purpose, marching into the Territories of those that exercised it, he compell'd *Icetes* first to renounce the *Carthaginian* Interest, and further to consent, that demolishing the Fortresses which were held by him, he should live among the *Leontines* as a private Person. *Leptines* also, the Tyrant of *Apollonia*, and divers other little Towns, after some Resistance made, seeing the danger he was in of being taken by Force, made a voluntary surrender of himself; whereupon *Timoleon* spar'd his Life, and sent him away to *Corinth*, counting it a very glorious thing both for Himself and Country, that their Mother City should expose those *Sicilian* Tyrants to the view of other *Greeks*, living now in an exil'd and despicable condition. After This he return'd to *Syracuse*, in order to provide for the civil Government of that City, and make the most wholsom and necessary Laws in Conjunction with
Cephalus,

Cephalus, and *Dionysius*, two Lawyers who had been sent thither from *Corinth* for that purpose. In the mean while, having a mind that his hired Soldiers should not want Action, but rather enrich themselves by some Plunder from the Enemy, he dispatch'd *Dinarchus* and *Demaretus* with a select Body of them, into a certain Province that belong'd to the *Carthaginians*; who obliging several Cities to revolt from the *Barbarians*, did not only live in great abundance themselves, but rais'd Money from their Captives and their Prey to carry on the War. But when these Matters were transacting, the *Carthaginians* landed at the Promontory of *Lilybæum*, bringing with them an Army of 70000 Men, aboard 200 Gallies, besides 1000 other Vessels, laden all with Engines of Battery, and Chariots, and quantity of Corn, and other military Preparations, as if they did intend not to manage the War by piece-meal, and in parts, as heretofore, but to drive the *Grecians* altogether and at once out of *Sicily*. And indeed it was a Force sufficient to seize and subdue the *Sicilians*, though they had then had the Entireness and Strength of a perfect Union among themselves, and much more when they were so infeebl'd through their own Distempers, and haras'd in pieces by one another. Hearing therefore that a Territory of their Dependence was laid waste, they presently made towards the *Corinthians* with great Fury, having *Asdrubal* and *Hamilcar* for their Generals; the Report of whose Multitude and Approach flying suddenly to *Syracuse*, they were so terrify'd there at the greatness of such a Power, that hardly 3000 among such infinite multitudes of them, had the Courage to take up Arms and join themselves with *Timoleon*. The Strangers that serv'd for Pay were not above 4000 in all, and about 1000 of those grew faint-hearted by the way, and forsook *Timoleon* in his march towards the Enemy, looking on him as a frantick and distracted Person, destitute of that Sense and Consideration, which might have been expected from one of his Age, who must needs venture out against an Army of 70000 Men, with no more than 5000 Foot, and 1000 Horse;

Horse; and when he should have stay'd to defend the
 City with the small Forces which he had, chose rather
 to remove them eight Days Journey from *Syracuse*, so
 that if they were beaten out of the Field, there was
 no Place of Retreat whither they might retire with
 Safety; or, if they happen'd to die upon the spot,
 there would be none to take care of their Burial. *Timoleon*
 however reckon'd it some kind of Advantage,
 that they had thus discover'd themselves before the
 Battle, and encouraging the rest, he led them with all
 Speed to the River *Crimesus*, where it was told him the
Carthaginians were drawn together; and as he was
 marching up an Ascent, from the top of which they
 might take a view of the Army, and strength of the
 Enemy, there met him by chance a company of Mules
 loaden with Parsly, which his Soldiers conceiv'd to be
 an ominous Occurrence, or ill-boding Token, because
 This is the very Herb wherewith we usually adorn the
 Sepulchres of the Dead; which Custom gave birth to
 that despairing Proverb, when we pronounce of one
 who is dangerously sick, *That he has need of nothing
 but Parsly*, which is in effect to say *he is a dead Man,
 and ready for his Grave*. Now that *Timoleon* might
 ease their Minds, and free them from these Supersti-
 tious Thoughts, and such a fearful Expectation, he put
 a stop to his March, and having alledg'd many other
 things in a Discourse suitable to the Occasion, he con-
 cluded it by saying, That a Garland of Triumph was
 here luckily brought them, and had fallen into their
 Hands of its own accord, as an Anticipation of Vic-
 tory; inasmuch as the *Corinthians* do crown Those that
 get the better in their *Isthmian* Games, with Chaplets
 of Parsly, accounting it a sacred Wreath, and proper to
 their Country; for Parsly was then the conquering Or-
 nament of the *Isthmian*, as it is now of the *Nemean*
 Sports, and it is not long since Branches of Pine came
 to succeed, and be made use of for that purpose.

Timoleon therefore, as I said, having thus bespoke his
 Soldiers, took part of the Parsly, wherewith he made
 himself

himself a Chaplet first, and then his Captains and their Companies did all crown themselves with it, in imitation of their Leader. The Soothsayers then observing also two Eagles on the wing towards them, One of which bore a Dragon struck through with her Talons, and the other, as she flew, made a great and chearful kind of Noise, which argu'd Boldness and Assurance, they presently shew'd them to the Soldiers, who with one consent fell to supplicate the Gods, and call them in to their Assistance. It was now about the beginning of Summer, and towards the End of the

(1) *Which* Month called (1) *Tbargelion*, when the
answers to season of the Year inclines towards the Sol-
*our May,*stice, the River then sending up a thick
 Mist, all the adjacent Plain was first dark-
 ned with the Fog, so that for a while they could discern nothing from the Enemies Camp, only a confused Buz and undistinguish'd mixture of Voices came up to the Hill, from the distant Motions and Clamours of so vast a Multitude. When the *Corinthians* had gain'd the top of the Hill and stood upon it, and had laid down their Bucklers to take breath and repose themselves, the Sun coming about, and drawing up the Vapours from below, the gross foggy Air that was now gather'd and condens'd above, did overcloud the Mountains, and all the under Places being clear and open, the River *Crimesus* appear'd to them again, and they could easily descry the Enemies passing over it, and moving in the following Order: First with their Warlike Chariots, that were terribly appointed for the Conflict; after these came 10000 Foot-men, with white Targets on their Arms, whom they guess'd to be all *Carthaginians*, from the Splendor of their Weapons, the Slowness of their Motion, and Order of their March; and when several other Nations, flowing in behind them, did throng for Passage in a turbulent and unruly manner, *Timoleon* perceiving that the River gave them opportunity to single out as many of their Enemies as they had a mind to engage at once, and bidding his Soldiers observe

observe how their Forces were divided into two separate Bodies by the Intervention of the Stream, Some being already got over, and Others still to ford it, he gave *Demaretus* Command to fall in upon the *Carthaginians* with his Horse, and disturb their Ranks, before they should be cast into a form of Battle: And coming down into the Plain himself, he made up his Right and Left Wing of other *Sicilians*, intermingling a few Strangers in each, but plac'd the Natives of *Syracuse* in the middle, with the stoutest Mercenaries he had, about his own Person, and then stay'd a little to observe the Success of his Horse; but when he saw they were not only hinder'd from grappling with the *Carthaginians*, by those armed Chariots, that ran to and fro before their Army, but forc'd continually to wheel about, to avoid the danger of having their Ranks broken, and then to make frequent Careers, to return upon them, he took his Buckler in his Hand, and crying out to the Foot, that they should follow him with Courage and Confidence, he seem'd to speak with a more than human Accent, and a Voice stronger than ordinary; whether it was that he strain'd it to that loudness, through an apprehension of the present Danger, and from the vehemence and ardour of his Mind to assault the Enemy, or else (as Many then were of Opinion) that some God did exclaim within him in such a thundering Utterance. When his Soldiers gave a dreadful Echo thereto, and besought him to lead them on without any further delay, he made a sign to the Horse, that they should draw off from the front where they had plac'd the Chariots, and fetching a side Compass, attack their Enemies in the Flank; then making his Van-Guard firm, by joining Man to Man, and Buckler to Buckler, he caus'd the Trumpet to sound, and charg'd the *Carthaginians*, who did stoutly receive and sustain his first Onset; for having their Bodies arm'd with Breast-Plates of Iron and Helmets of Brass, beside great Bucklers to cover and secure them, they could easily repel the force of their Javelins: but when the business came

to a decision by the Sword, where Mastery depends no less upon Art than Strength, all on a sudden there broke out terrible Thunders and fiery Flashes, darting forth from the Mountain tops; after which, the Gloominess that hover'd about the upper Grounds, and the Rocky Cliffs, descending to the place of Battle, and bringing a Tempest of Rain, Wind, and Hail along with it, was driven upon the *Greeks* behind, and fell only at their Backs, but discharg'd itself in the very Face of the *Barbarians*, and through the stormy Showers and continual Flames pouring down together from the Clouds, did dazle and confound their Sight: In which Accident there were many things that did sorely afflict them all, but chiefly their unexperienc'd Men, who had not been us'd to such Hardships, among which the very Claps of Thunder, and the rattling noise of their Weapons, beaten with the violence of Rain and Hail-stones, were not their least Annoyance, as That which kept them from hearing the Commands of their Officers. Beside This, the very Dirt also was a great hindrance to the *Carthaginians*, they being, as I said before, all loaden with heavy Armour; and their Jackets drench'd through with Water in the foldings thereof about their Bosom, grew unwieldly and cumbersome to them as they fought, but gave the *Greeks* an advantage of overturning them with ease, and when they were once down, it was impossible under that weight to disengage themselves from the Mire, and rise again with their Weapons in their Hand: For the River *Crimesus*, swollen partly by the Rain, and partly by the stoppage of its Course, from the multitude of those that were passing through, did overflow its Banks, and the Level on each side lying under several Cavities and Confluences of Water, was fill'd with Rivulets and Currents that had no certain Channel, which the *Carthaginians* falling into, cou'd but with the utmost pains and difficulty recover themselves from: so that in fine, the Storm and Torrent bearing still upon them, and the *Greeks* having cut in pieces 400 Men of their first Ranks, the whole Body of their Army began to fly, great numbers of which
being

being overtaken in the Plain, were put to the Sword there; and many of them, as they fled, falling foul upon Others that were yet coming over, they all tumbled and perish'd together, born down and overwhelm'd by the impetuouſness of the River; but the major part attempting to get up the Hills and so make their escape, were prevented and slain by Those that were lightly armed. It is said, that of 10000 which lay dead after the Fight, 3000 at least were all Natives of *Carthage*, a lamentable and uncommon loss to that City; for Those that fell therein were inferior to None among them, as to the quality of their Birth, or the wealthiness of their House, or the reputation of their Courage: Nor do their Records mention that so many natural *Carthaginians* were ever cut off before in any one Battle; for they did usually employ the *Africans*, and *Spaniards*, and *Numidians*, in their Wars, so that if they chanc'd to be defeated, it was still at the cost and damage of other Nations. Now the *Greeks* did easily discover of what condition and account the Slain were, by the richness of their Spoils; for when they came to seize upon the Prey, there was very little reckoning made either of Brass or Iron; so great was that abundance of Silver and Gold, which fell into their Hands; and passing over the River they became masters of their Camp and Carriages: As for the Captives, a great many of them were turn'd loose by the Soldiers, but about 5000 were brought in, and deliver'd up for the benefit of the Publick: They took beside 200 of their warlike Chariots, The Tent of *Timoleon* did then afford a very graceful Sight and magnificent Appearance, being heaped up and hung round with all variety of Spoils and military Ornaments, among which there were 1000 Breast-Plates of rare Workmanship and Beauty, and 10000 Bucklers expos'd to view: But the Victors being but Few to strip so Many that were vanquish'd, and meeting too with great Booty, it was the third day after the Fight before they could erect and finish the Trophy of their

Conquest. *Timoleon* sent tidings of his Victory to *Corinth*, with the best and goodliest Arms he had taken, as a Proof of it; that he might render his Country an object of Emulation to the whole World, when of all the Cities of *Greece*, Men should there only behold their chief Temples adorn'd, not with *Grecian* Spoils, nor Offerings that were got by the Bloodshed and Plunder of their own Countrymen and Kindred, (which must needs create very displeasing Remembrances) but such as had been stripp'd from *Barbarians*, and Enemies to their Nation, with handsom Inscriptions, which did manifest the Justice as well as Fortitude of the Conquerors, namely, That the People of *Corinth*, and *Timoleon* their General, having redeem'd the *Grecians* that dwelt in *Sicily*, from *Carthaginian* Bondage, did make an Oblation thereof to the Gods, in acknowledgment of the advantage they had gain'd by their Favour. Having done This, he left his hired Soldiers in the Enemies Country, to drive and carry away all they could throughout the Province of *Carthage*, and so march'd with the rest of his Army to *Syracuse*, where he made an Edict for Banishing the 1000 Mercenaries, which had basely deserted him before the Battle, and obliged them to quit the City before Sun-set, who sailing into *Italy*, lost their Lives there by the hands of the *Brutians*, though they had given them the assurance of publick Faith; thus receiving from God, the Avenger of Perfidiousness and Falshood, a very just Reward of their own Treachery. But *Mamercus* the Tyrant of *Catana*, and *Iceles*, after all either envying *Timoleon* the Glory of his Exploits, or fearing him as One that would keep no Agreement, nor have any Peace with Tyrants, made a League with the *Carthaginians*, and press'd them very much to send a new Army and Commander into *Sicily*, unless they would be content to hazard All, and to be wholly ejected out of that Island. Whereupon they dispatch'd *Gisco* with a Navy of 70 Sail, who took several *Grecians* into Pay, That

That being the first time they had ever been list'd for the *Punick* Service; but then it seems they began to admire them, as the most warlike of Mankind and even to think them invincible. The Inhabitants of *Messina* entring now with one accord into a general Conspiracy, slew 400 of those Strangers which *Timoleon* had sent to their Assistance; and within the Dependencies of *Cartbage*, at a Place called *Hieres*, (*i. e.* Sacred) the Mercenaries that serv'd under *Euthymus* the *Leucadian* were all cut off, by an Ambush that was laid for them: From which Accidents however the Felicity of *Timoleon* grew chiefly remarkable; for These were the Men that with *Philodemus* of *Phocis*, and *Onomarchus*, had forcibly broke into the Temple of *Apollo* at *Delpbi*, and were partakers with Them in the Sacrilege; so that being hated and shunn'd by All, as so many execrable Persons, they were constrain'd to wander about in *Peleponnesus*, when for want of Others, *Timoleon* was glad to entertain them in his Expedition for *Sicily*, where they happen'd to be successful, in whatever Enterprize they engaged under his Conduct. But the most and greatest of those Rencontres being now ended, he sent them abroad for the Relief and Defence of his Party in several Places, and here they were lost and consum'd at a distance from him, not all together, but in small parcels; the Vengeance then inflicted making *Timoleon's* Prosperity an Excuse of its delay, that good Men might not suffer any harm or prejudice by the punishment and ruin of the wicked; insomuch that the Benevolence and Kindness which the Gods had for *Timoleon* came to be discern'd and admir'd no less, from his very Miscarriages and Disasters, than from Any of those former Achievements he had been the most fortunate and successful in.

But amidst their late Misadventures, That which did vex and provoke the *Syracusians* most, was their being affronted too by the insolent Behaviour of these Tyrants; for *Mamercus* in particular valuing himself much upon the faculty he had to make Poems and Tragedies;

took occasion to boast of That and his Victory together, when coming to present the Gods with the Bucklers of their Soldiers that were slain by him, he caus'd an abusive Elegy or Epigram to be under-written.

*These Shields with Purple, Gold, and Ivory wrought,
Were by us taken that with poor ones fought.*

After these things, while *Timoleon* march'd to *Calauria*, *Iceles* made an inroad into the Borders of *Syracuse*, where he met with considerable Booty; and having done great mischief and havock, he return'd back even by *Calauria* itself, in contempt of *Timoleon*, and the slender Force he had then with him. He suffering *Iceles* to pass by, pursu'd him with his Horsemen and light Infantry, which *Iceles* perceiving, cross'd the River *Damyrias*, and then stood as it were in a posture to receive him; for the difficulty of that Passage, and the height and steepness of the Bank on each side, gave advantage enough to make him thus confident. But there happen'd a strange Contention and Dispute among the Officers of *Timoleon*, which did a little retard the Conflict, for there was none of them that would let another pass over before him to engage the Enemy, but every one did Challenge it as a Right, to venture first, and begin the Onset; so that their fording over was like to be tumultuous and without Order, while they did mutually juggle and press forward, striving which should be the foremost. *Timoleon* therefore desiring this Controversy might be decided by Lot, took a Ring from each of the Pretenders, which he cast into his own Robe, and having shak'd them together, the first he drew out and expos'd to view, had by good Fortune the Figure of a Trophy engraven for the Seal of it, which when the younger Captains saw, they all shouted for joy, and without waiting any longer to see how Chance would determine it for the rest, every Man took his way through the River, with all the speed he could make, and charg'd the Enemy, who was not able to

bear

bear up against the violence of their Attack, but running away in haste, they all left their Arms behind them, and 1000 of their Men dead upon the Place. It was not long after, that *Timoleon* marching up to the City of *Leontium*, took *Iceles* alive, and his Son *Eupolemus*, and *Euthymus* the Commander of his Horse, that were bound and brought to him by their own Soldiers. *Iceles*, with the Stripling his Son, were then executed as Tyrants and Traitors; and *Euthymus*, though a brave Man, and one of singular Courage, was slain without Mercy, being charged with some contemptuous Language that had been us'd by him, in disparagement of the *Corinthians*; for it is said, that when they first sent their Forces into *Sicily*, he told the People of *Leontium*, in a Speech, *That the News did not sound terrible, nor was any great danger to be fear'd*——if the *Corinthian Dames* were come abroad. Now, from hence we may remark, that Men are usually more stung and galled by a few reproachful Words, than many hostile Actions; for they bear the slights of Disdain and Affront with less patience, than they will Harm, or Mischief; since to plague and damnify by Deeds, is what the World does allow and count pardonable from Enemies, because it is a necessary thing, and no less can be expected in a State of War; whereas the Virulence and Contumely of the Tongue, is an Argument and Expression of needless Hatred, and seems to proceed from a Superfluity of Malice and excessive Rancour. When *Timoleon* came back to *Syracuse*, the Citizens brought the Wives and Daughters of *Iceles* and his Son to a publick Trial, who being there condemn'd to die, did all suffer accordingly; which seems to have been the most cruel and blameable Action of *Timoleon's* Life; for if he had interpos'd his Authority to hinder it, the poor Women doubtless had never come to this unhappy End; but he connived thereat, and gave them up to the incens'd Multitude, who thus revenged the Injuries of *Dion*, who expell'd *Dionysius*; for it was this very *Iceles* which took *Arete* the Wife, and *Aristomachus*

mache the Sister of *Dion*, with a Son of His that had not yet pass'd his Childhood, and threw them all together into the Sea alive; as I have related more at large in the Life of *Dion*. After This he mov'd towards *Catana* against *Mamercus*, who giving him Battle near the River *Abolus*, was overthrown and put to flight, losing above 2000 Men, a considerable part of which were the *Punick* Troops, that *Gisco* sent in to his Assistance.

Upon this Defeat, the *Carthaginians* besought him to make a Peace with them, which he consented to, under the observance of these Articles: 1. That they should confine themselves to that part of the Country which lies within the River *Lycus*. 2. That such as were desirous to transplant themselves and remove thence to the *Syracusians*, should have the Liberty of doing it with their whole Family and Fortune. And last of all, That They of *Carthage* should from that Day forward renounce all Leagues and Associations, whereby they might any ways stand engag'd to succour and relieve the *Sicilian* Tyrants. *Mamercus*, forsaken now, and despairing of Success, went aboard for *Italy*, with a Design to bring in the *Leucanians* against *Timoleon*, and the People of *Syracuse*: But when Those of his Company tack'd about with their Gallies, and Landing again at *Sicily*, delivered up *Catana* to *Timoleon*, he was forc'd to shift for himself, and make his Escape to *Messina*, that was under the Tyranny of *Hippo*. *Timoleon* then coming up against them, and besieging the City both by Sea and Land, *Hippo*, fearful of the Event, endeavour'd to slip away in a Vessel, which the People of *Messina* surpris'd as it was putting off, and seizing on his Person, and sending for their Children from School into the Theatre, to be entertain'd as it were with the most goodly Spectacle of a Tyrant punished, they first publicly scourg'd, and then put him to death. Whereupon *Mamercus* made surrender of himself to *Timoleon*, with this Proviso, that he should be try'd at *Syracuse*, and *Timoleon* have no hand in his Accusation: Whither he was brought accordingly, and appearing to plead before the People, he essay'd to pronounce

nounce an Oration he had long before made in his own Defence ; but finding himself interrupted by Noise and Clamours, and observing from their Aspect and De-meanour that the whole Assembly was inexorable, he threw off his upper Garment, and running cross the Theatre as hard as he could drive, violently dash'd his Head against one of the Posts where they were sitting, with intention to have kill'd himself ; but he had not the fortune to perish, as he design'd, but was taken up alive, and hurry'd to the Execution, which was Such as is usually inflicted on Thieves and Highwaymen.

After this manner did *Timoleon* cut the Nerves of Tyranny, and put a period to their Wars : For whereas at his first entring on *Sicily*, the Island was all savage and hateful to the very Natives, by reason of the Evils and Miseries they suffer'd there, He did so civilize, and quiet, and reform the Country, and render it so desirable to all Men, that even Strangers now came by Sea to inhabit those Towns and Places which their own Citizens had forsaken and left desolate : For *Agri-gentum* and *Gela*, two famous Cities that had been ruin'd and laid waste by the *Cartbaginians* after the *Attick* War, were then Peopled again, the One by *Megellus* and *Pberissus*, that came from *Elea* in *Peloponnesus*, the Other by *Gorgus* from *Cea*, one of the Isles called *Cyclades*, who having pick'd up some of the old Inhabitants among other Company, brought them back with the rest to their former Dwellings : To all which *Timoleon* did not only afford a secure and peaceable Abode in their new Settlement, after so obstinate a War, but making provision of other Necessaries, and giving them a chearful Assistance in all things, he had the same Love and Respect from them, as if he had been their Founder ; which Inclination and Esteem for him running through all the rest of the *Sicilians*, there was no Proposal for Peace, nor Sanction of Law, nor Partition of Lands, nor any Form and Order of Government, which they did acquiesce in, or could think well of, unless He was concern'd in it, and as a chief Architect to finish and adorn the Works, super-added

added some graceful Touches from his own Hand, which might render it agreeable and pleasing both to God and Man : For although Greece had produc'd several Persons of extraordinary Worth, and much renown'd for their Achievements in his time, such as *Timotheus*, and *Agessilaus*, and *Pelopidas*, and the great *Epaminondas*, whom *Timoleon* did admire, and most endeavour to imitate, above all the rest ; yet the Lustre of their brightest Actions was mingled with an alloy of certain Labour and Violence, insomuch that Some of them became matter of Reproof, and a Subject of Repentance ; whereas there is not any one Action of *Timoleon's* (setting aside his extreme rigour to his Brother) whereunto, as *Timæus* does observe, we may not fitly apply that Exclamation of *Sophocles* ;

*O Gods ! What Venus, or what Grace Divine,
Touch'd the Performance here, and made it shine ?*

For as the Poetry of *Antimachus*, and the Portraits of *Dionysius*, both Natives of *Colophon*, with all their force and vigour, did yet appear to be hard and labour'd Pieces ; when the Pictures of *Nichomachus*, and the Verses of *Homer*, besides other Advantages of Strength and Beauty, have this peculiar Excellence, that they seem to come readily from them, and to be wrought off with ease, and a stroke of Mastery ; so likewise if with the Expeditions and Conduct of *Epaminondas*, or *Agessilaus*, that were full of Toil and Struggling, we compare That of *Timoleon*, which had much smoothness and facility, join'd with the Splendor and Worthiness of what he did, it will appear to All that consider well, and judge rightly, to be the effect not of simple Fortune, but rather of a prosperous and happy Courage ; tho' he himself did modestly ascribe the great Success of his Undertakings to the sole Favour of Providence ; for both in the Letters which he wrote to his Friends at *Corinth*, and in Those Speeches he made to the People of *Syracuse*, he would say, *That he was very thankful to Fortune, (who having a mind to preserve*

Hand, (serve Sicily) was pleas'd to honour Him with the Name
 and Title of the Deliverance She vouchsafed it. And
 having built a Chapel in his House, he there sacrific'd to
 Fortune, who presides over Chance, as a Deity that
 such favour'd him, and Devoted the House itself to the
 same sacred Genius; that being a Fabrick which the
 Syracuseans had rais'd for him, as a Reward and Monu-
 ment of his brave Exploits. They also gave him a most
 delicious Country House, where he kept his Residence
 for the most part, and enjoy'd a sweet Privacy with his
 Wife and Children that came to him from *Corinth*; for
 he return'd thither no more, as unwilling to be concern-
 ed in the Broils and Tumults of *Greece*, or expose himself
 to the publick Envy, (that ever-fatal Mischief which
 many great Commanders do run upon, from an insatiable
 appetite of Honour and Authority) but wisely chose to
 spend the Remainder of his Days in *Sicily*, and there to
 partake of those Blessings he had brought among them,
 the greatest whereof was, to behold so many Cities flourish-
 ing, and so many thousands of People live happy through
 his means and procurement. But as all the Larks of
 that trusted sort which the *Latins* call *Cassitæ*, must, as
Simonides proverbially speaks, have a Crest on their
 heads, so in every Republick there will start up some
 bold Sycophant to raise Calumnies, as it happen'd at
Syracuse, where two of their popular Spokesmen, *La-*
byssius and *Demænetus* by Name, fell to slander *Timoleon*; the
 former of which requiring him to put in Sureties,
 that he would answer to a certain Indictment should be
 brought against him, *Timoleon* would not suffer the
 Citizens, who were incens'd at his Demand, to oppose
 the Man, and hinder him from proceeding, since He of
 his own accord had been at all that trouble, and run so
 many dangerous Risks for this very end and purpose, that
 every one of them who had a mind to try matters by
 Law, should freely have recourse to it. And when *De-*
mænetus, in a full Audience of the People, laid several
 things to his charge, which had been done while he was
 General, he made no other Reply to him, but only said,
 He

He was much indebted to the Gods, for granting the Request he had so often made them, namely, that he might live to see the Syracusians enjoy that liberty of Speech which they now seem'd to be masters of. Timoleon therefore having, by Confession of All, perform'd the greatest and the noblest Actions of any Grecian of his Age, and alone gotten the preeminence in those Things, to which their Orators did always exhort the Greeks, by such Harangues and Panegyricks as they usually made at the solemn National Assemblies, and being by the Favour of Fortune spared, unspotted and without Blood, from the Calamities of Civil War, wherein Ancient Greece was soon after involv'd; having also given sufficient Proof as of his sage Conduct and manly Courage to the Barbarians and Tyrants, so of his Justice and Gentleness to the Greeks, and all his Friends in general; having moreover rais'd the greater part of those Trophies he won in Battle, without any Tears shed, or any Mourning worn by the Citizens either of Syracuse or Corinth, and within less than eight years space deliver'd Sicily from its old Grievances and Mischiefs, and intestine Distempers, and given it up free to the Native Inhabitants, his Eyes began to fail him as he grew in Years, and in time he became perfectly blind; not that he had done any thing himself that might occasion this Defect, or was deprived of his Sight by any Outrage of Fortune, but it seems to have been some in-bred and hereditary weakness that was founded in natural Causes, which by degrees came to discover itself; for it is said, that divers of his Kindred and Family were subject to the like gradual Decay and lost all use of their Eyes, as He did, in their declining Years; but *Athanas* the Historian tells us, that even during the War against *Hippo* and *Mamercus*, while he was in his Camp at *Myle*, there appear'd a white Speck within his Eye, from whence all did foresee the total Blindness that was coming on him: However this did not hinder him then from continuing the Siege and prosecuting that War, till he got Both the Tyrants into his Power; but upon his coming back to *Syracuse*, he presently

ntly resign'd the Authority of sole Commander, and
 sought the Citizens to excuse him from any further
 service, seeing things were already brought to so fair an
 issue. Now it is not so much to be wondred, that he
 himself should bear the Misfortune without any marks
 of Trouble ; but that Respect and Gratitude which the
Syracusians shew'd him when he was stark-blind, may
 justly deserve our Admiration, going themselves to visit
 him in Troops, and bringing all the Strangers that tra-
 vel'd through their Country to his House and Villa,
 that They also might have the pleasure to see their noble
 benefactor ; making it the great matter of their Joy and
 exultation, that when, after so many brave and happy Ex-
 ploits, he might have return'd with Triumph into *Greece*,
 he should despise all the glorious Preparations that were
 made to receive him, and by a strange kind of En-
 dowment, chose rather to abide there, and end his days
 among Them : Whereas therefore several other things
 were decreed and done in honour of *Timoleon*, I reckon
 his Vote of the *Syracusians* to be a signal Testimony of
 their value for him, viz. *That whenever they shou'd hap-
 pen to be at War with any foreign Nation, they should
 make use of none but a Corinthian General.* And the
 method of their proceeding in Council, was a handsom
 demonstration of the same Deference for his Person ;
 for determining Matters of less Consequence themselves,
 they ever called Him to advise in the more difficult Cases,
 and such as were of greater moment ; Who being car-
 ried through the Market-place in a Litter, and that
 brought with him sitting into the Theatre, the People
 with one Voice saluted him by his Name ; then return-
 ing that Civility, and pausing for a time, till the noise
 of their Gratulations and Blessings began to cease, after
 clearing the Business in debate he deliver'd his Opinion,
 which being confirm'd by a general Suffrage, his Servants
 went back with the Litter through the midst of their
 Assembly, the People waiting on him out with Accla-
 mations and Applauses, and so returned to consider of
 the publick Causes, as they us'd to dispatch in his ab-
 sence.

sence. Being thus cherish'd in his old Age, and with that Honour and Benevolence as if he had been the common Father, he was seiz'd with an Indisposition which however slight at first did assist and enable him to put a Period to his Life. As soon as he was dead the *Syracusians* had a certain time allow'd them when they were to provide whatever should be necessary for his Burial, and all the neighbouring Inhabitants and Strangers were to make their appearance in a Body; that the Funeral Pomp was set out with great Splendour and Magnificence in all other respects, and the Hearse being deck'd with rich Ornaments and Trophies of War, was born by a select number of young Gentlemen over that Ground where the Palace and Castle of *Dionysius* stood, before they were demolish'd by *Timoleon*. There attended on the Solemnity several thousands of Men and Women, all crown'd with Flowers, all array'd in fresh and cleanly Attire, which made it look like a Procession of a publick Festival; the Discourse of which, and their Tears mingled with the Praise and Benediction of the dead *Timoleon*, did manifestly shew that it was not any superficial Honour, or forced Respect, which they then paid him, but the Testimony of a just Sorrow for his Death, and the Expression of a Recompence of true Kindness. The Bier at length being placed upon the pile of Wood that was kindled to consume his Corps, *Demetrius*, one of the loudest Critics, began to read a Proclamation or a written Edict to the purpose: ——— *The People of Syracuse have made a special Decree to inter Timoleon the Son of Timodemus that noble Corinthian, at the common Expence of 200 Attick (2) Pounds, and to honour his Memory for ever by an appointment of annual Prizes to be celebrated with Musick, and Horse-races, and all sorts of bodily Exercise, and that because he destroyed Tyrants, and overthrew the Barbarians, and replenished many great Cities, that were ruinous and desolate before*

(2) In English Money
645*l.* 16*s.*
8*d.*

(2) Pounds, and
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with new Inhabitants, and then restor'd the Sicilians to
 State of Freedom, and the Privilege of living under
 their own Laws. Beside This, they made a Tomb for
 him in the Market-place, which they afterward built
 round with Galleries, and join'd certain Cloisters there-
 as, as a place of Exercise for their Youth, which had
 the Name of *Timoleonteum*; and then keeping to that
 form and Order of Civil Policy, and observing those
 laws and Constitutions which He left them, they
 liv'd themselves a long time in all manner of Pro-
 sperity.





THE
L I F E
O F
PAULUS EMILIUS

I First undertook this History, that I might be serviceable unto Others, but go on and persevere in my Design, that I may advantage myself; whilst the Virtues of the great Men are as a Looking-glass by which I learn how I ought to order and adorn my own Life. by this means I enjoy the greatest Familiarity, and no less conversant with every one of them by turn than if the same Table and Bed were common to us both. When I read their Story, each particular Virtue and Excellence makes a deep Impression in my Mind; and hence I gather how great and valuable the Owner of the Accomplishments must needs have been, and with Care collect the most beautiful and remarkable Passages of their Lives, as Patterns for Imitation. A greater Pleasure than which the Gods can scarce grant us, or a more ready way to teach us Virtue. *Democritus* laid it down as a Principle in his Philosophy, (tho' utterly false, and tending to endless Superstitions,) That there were Phantasms appearing in the Air, and tells us that we ought to pray, that Such may present themselves as are pro-

ts, and that we may see Those that are agreeable to our
 natures, and would instruct us in That which is good,
 ther than Such as are unfortunate, and would lead us
 to Vice. But my Method is, by daily conversing with
 History, and diligently collecting from what I read, to
 in my Mind things worthy Memory of the best and
 most Virtuous of Men. For thus am I enabled to free
 myself from that Contagion of Idleness and Vice, which
 may have contracted from the ill company I am some-
 times forced to converse with; it being a powerful Re-
 medy, with a sedate and quiet Mind, seriously to consi-
 der such noble Examples. Of this kind are *Timoleon*
 the *Corinthian*, and *Paulus Emilius*, to write whose Lives
 is my present Business; Men not only equally famous
 for their Virtues, but Success; insomuch that they
 have left it doubtful, whether they owe their greatest
 Achievements to good Fortune, or their own Prudence
 and Conduct.

Almost all Historians agree, that the Family of the
Emilii was one of the most Ancient of the *Roman Nobi-*
lity; and those Authors who affirm that King *Numa* was
 a Discipul to *Pythagoras*, tell us, that the first who gave the
 Name to his Posterity was *Marcus*, the Son of that
 Wise Man, who for his particular Eloquence and grace
 of Speech, was called *Emilius*. The greatest part of this
 Race that have been celebrated for their Virtue, have
 been crown'd with Success; and even the Misfortune of
Cornelius Emilius at the Battle of *Cannæ*, gave ample Testi-
 mony of his Wisdom and Valour. For not being able
 to persuade his Collegue from hazarding the Battle, He,
 though against his Judgment, shared with him the Dan-
 ger, but was no Companion in his flight; On the con-
 trary, when He that was so resolute to engage, deserted
 him in the midst of danger, He kept the Field, and died
 fighting. This *Emilius* had a Daughter nam'd *Emilia*,
 who was married to *Scipio* the Great, and a Son call'd
Paulus, who is the Subject of my present History.

His first Appearance in the World was at a time when
Rome abounded with Men renown'd for their Virtues

and other excellent Accomplishments; and even among These did *Emilius* in his Youth make a distinguishing Figure, tho' he followed not the ordinary Studies with the young Men of Quality of that Age, nor trod the same Paths to Fame. For he did not exercise himself in pleading Causes, nor would he stoop to salute, embrace, and entertain the Vulgar, which were the usual insinuating Arts by which Many grew Popular. Not that he was incapable of either, but chose to purchase a much more lasting Glory by his Valour, Justice, and Integrity, and 'twas by these Virtues he soon outstript all his Equals.

The first honourable Office he pretended to, was That of *Ædile*, which he carried against twelve Competitors of such considerable Worth and Quality, that All of them in process of time were Consuls. Being afterward chose into the number of Priests call'd *Augurs*, who amongst the *Romans* were to observe and register such Divinations as were made by the flight of Birds, or Prodigious in the Air; He with such Attention studied the ancient Customs of his Country, and so thoroughly understood the Religion of his Ancestors, that this Office, which was before only esteem'd for its high rank, and upon that account sought after, was by Him brought to be one of the most sublime Arts: and proved that definition of Religion true, That it was the knowing how we ought to Serve the Gods. When he perform'd any part of his Duty he did it with great Skill and the utmost Care, making it his only Business, not omitting any one Ceremony, or adding the least Circumstance, but always contending with his Companions of the same Order, about things that were even of the least consequence instructing them, that though they might think the Deity was easily pacified, and ready to forgive faults of Inadvertency and Negligence, yet such Favour and Pardon would be dangerous to the Commonwealth; because no Man ever began the Disturbance of his Country's Peace by a notorious breach of its Laws, but They by degrees grew negligent in things of greatest concern,

who

o gave themselves Liberty in Matters of lesser moment. Nor was he less severe, in observing and requiring others to observe the Ancient *Roman* Discipline in Military Affairs; not endeavouring, when he had the Command, to ingratiate himself with his Soldiers by Popular Flattery; though this Custom prevail'd at that time amongst Many, who by their Courtship, and Affability to Those that were under them in their first Employment, sought to be promoted to a Second; but *Emilius* instructing them in the Laws of Military Discipline, with the same Care and Exactness a Priest would teach Ceremonies and dreadful Mysteries, by being severe. Such as transgress'd and contemn'd those Laws he establish'd his Country in its former Glory; esteeming Victory as the necessary Consequence of good Discipline.

Whilst the *Romans* were engag'd in War with *Antiochus* the Great, against whom their most experienc'd Commanders were employed, there arose another War in the West, all *Spain* revolting and taking Arms. With this they sent *Emilius*, in the Quality of *Prætor*, with six Axes, which number other *Prætors* were accustomed to have carried before them, but with twelve, that in his *Prætorship* he was honour'd with the Dignity of a *Consul*. In this expedition, twice he overcame the *Barbarians* in Battle, of whom 30000 were slain; which Exploit is chiefly to be ascribed to the Wisdom and Conduct of the Commander, who by his great Skill in choosing the Advantage of the Ground, and making the most of it at the Passage of a River, led his Soldiers to an easy Conquest. Having made himself Master of 250 Cities, whose Inhabitants voluntarily yielded, and obliged themselves by Oath to Faithfulness; he left the Province in Peace, and return'd to *Rome*, not enriching himself a Drachma by the War. The truth is, he never gave himself the trouble of heaping up Riches, but always liv'd splendidly and generously on the present stock, which was so far from being great, (as was

evident after his death) that there was scarce enough left to answer his Wife's Dowry.

His first Wife was *Papyria*, the Daughter of *Masso*, who had formerly been *Consul*, with whom he liv'd a long while in Wedlock, and afterwards divorc'd her, though she bare him an illustrious Offspring, for she was Mother to the so renowned *Scipio*, and *Fabius Maximus*. The reason of this Separation is not come to our Knowledge; but there seems to be truth in another *Roman's* being divorc'd from his Wife, which may be applicable to our purpose. This Person being highly blam'd for it by his Friends, who demanded, *Was she not Chaste? Was she not Fair? Was she not Fruitful? When He putting forth his Shoe, ask'd them, Whether it was not new, and well made? Yet, added he, none of you can tell where it wrings me.* Certain it is, that great and open Faults are the usual occasions of Mens putting away their Wives, yet do little Jarrings and private Distastes, which arise from the disagreeableness of their Tempers, and peevishness of Dispositions, though they may be conceal'd from Others, often make so great an Estrangement and Alteration in Affections, that it is not possible for them to live together, with any content.

Emilius having thus put away *Papyria*, married a second Wife, by whom he had two Sons, which he brought up in his own House, adopting the two former into the greatest and most noble Families of Rome. The elder was adopted into That of *Fabius Maximus*, who had been five times *Consul*; and the younger into That of *Scipio Africanus*, his Cousin-german, and was by Him named *Scipio*. One of *Emilius* his Daughters was married to the Son of *Cato* the Censor, the Other to *Elius Tubero*, the very best of Men, and who above All the *Romans* knew how to support even his Poverty with Magnificence. For there were sixteen near Relations all of them of the Family of the *Elii*, who were possess'd of but one Farm, which suffic'd them All, whilst a small House or rather Cottage contain'd Them, their numerous

rous Offspring and their Wives ; among whom was the Daughter of our *Emilius* ; who, although her Father had been twice *Consul*, and twice triumph'd ; was so far from being ashamed of her Husband's Poverty, that she admir'd his Virtue, that had reduc'd him to that Condition. Far otherwise it is with the Brothers and Relations of this Age, who if different Countries, or at least Walls and Rivers, part not their Inheritances, they live at Variance, and never cease from mutual Quarrels. These are useful Instructions, which History suggests to Such as read with Attention, and endeavour to Profit by Reading.

But to proceed : *Emilius* being chosen *Consul*, waged War with the *Ligurians*, or *Ligustines*, a People dwelling near the *Alpes*. They were a valiant and warlike Nation, and from their Neighbourhood to the *Romans*, well skill'd in the same Discipline and Arts of War. For they possess'd the utmost Bounds of *Italy*, which border upon the *Alpes*, and that part of the same Mountain which is wash'd by the *Tuscan Sea*, and were mingled with the *Gauls* and *Spaniards*, who inhabited the Coast. Besides, at that time they were strong at Sea, and sailing as far as the *Straits-mouth*, in light Vessels fitted for that purpose, robb'd and destroy'd All that traffick'd in those parts. These waited the coming of *Emilius* with an Army of 40000, who brought with him not above eight, so that the Enemy was five to one when they engag'd, yet did he vanquish and put them to flight, forcing them to retire into their wall'd Towns, and in this Condition gave them hopes of an Accommodation ; it being the Policy of the *Romans* not utterly to destroy the *Ligurians*, whilst they were as a Guard and Bulwark against the *Gauls*, who made such frequent attempts to over-run *Italy*. Trusting wholly therefore to *Emilius*, they deliver'd up their Towns and Shipping into his hands. He raz'd only the Fortifications, and deliver'd their Towns to them again ; but all their Shipping he took away with him, leaving them no Vessels bigger than those of three Oars, and set at Liberty great numbers

numbers of Prisoners they had taken both by Sea and Land, Strangers as well as *Romans*. These were the things most worthy of remark, in his first Consulship.

Afterwards he frequently declar'd his Desire of being a second time *Consul*, and was once Candidate; but meeting with a Repulse, he mov'd no more in it, but was wholly intent upon his Office of *Augur*, and the Education of his Children, whom he not only brought up as he himself had been in the *Roman* Discipline, but also in That of *Greece*, which was esteem'd more genteel and honourable. To this purpose he not only entertain'd Masters to teach them *Grammar*, *Logick*, and *Rhetorick*, but *Sculpture* also, and *Painting*, together with Such as were skilful in breeding Horses and Dogs, and could instruct them in Hunting and Riding. And if he was not hindred by Publick Affairs, He himself would be with them at their Studies, and see them perform their Exercises, being the most indulgent of Fathers amongst the *Romans*.

As to matters relating to the Commonwealth, at that time the *Romans* were engag'd in a War with *Perseus*, King of the *Macedonians*, and highly blam'd their Commanders, who either through want of Skill or Courage, so ill and shamefully manag'd the Concerns of the Commonwealth, that they did less hurt to the Enemy than they receiv'd from him: For They that not long before had forc'd *Antiochus* the Great to quit the rest of *Asia*, and driving him beyond Mount *Taurus*, confin'd him to *Syria*, glad to buy his Peace with 15000 Talents: They that not long since had vanquish'd King *Philip*, in *Thessaly*, and freed the *Greeks* from the *Macedonian* Yoke, nay, had overcome *Hannibal* himself, who far surpass'd all Kings in Bravery and Courage, thought it scorn that *Perseus* should think himself an Enemy fit to match the *Romans*, and to be able to wage War with them on equal terms, with the Remainder only of his Father's routed Forces; but they little weigh'd, that the *Macedonian* Army was become much more powerful and

and expert after the overthrow of *Philip*. To make which appear, I shall briefly recount the Story from the beginning.

Antigonus, who was the most potent amongst the Captains and Successors of *Alexander*, having obtain'd for himself and his Posterity the Title of King, had a Son nam'd *Demetrius*, Father to *Antigonus*, call'd *Gonatus*, and He, to *Demetrius*, who reigning some short time, died, and left a young Son call'd *Philip*. The Nobility of *Macedon* fearing great Confusions might arise in the Minority of their Prince, trusted the Government in the hands of *Antigonus*, Cousin-german to the late King, and married him to his Widow, the Mother of *Philip*. At first they only stiled him Regent and General; but when they found by Experience, that he govern'd the Kingdom with Moderation, and to their Advantage, they gave him the Title of King. This was he that was nam'd *Doson*, because he was only a Promiser, not a performer of his Words. To Him succeeded *Philip*, who in his Youth gave great hopes of equalling the best of Kings, and that He one day would restore *Macedon* to its former state and dignity, and be alone able to give stop to the Power of the *Romans*, which was now become a general Oppression to the World. But being vanquish'd in a pitch'd Battle by *Titus Flaminius*, near to *Scotusa*, his Resolution was dash'd, and he yielded Himself and All that he had to the mercy of the *Romans*, being glad to get off upon Payment of a moderate Tribute. Yet afterwards recollecting himself he bore it with great regret, and thought he liv'd rather like a slave that was pleas'd with Ease, than a Man of Sense and Courage, whilst he held his Kingdom at the pleasure of his Conquerors; which made him resolve upon War, and prepare himself with as much Cunning and Privacy as possible. To this end he left his Cities on the High-roads and Sea-coast ungarrison'd and almost desolate, that they might seem inconsiderable; in the mean time furnishing his mid-land Castles, strong Holds and Towns, with Arms, Money, and Men fit for Service, he

he provided himself for War, and yet kept his Preparations close. He had in his Armory Arms for 3000 Men; in his Granaries, eight millions of Bushels of Corn, and in his Coffers as much ready Money as would defray the Charge of maintaining 10000 mercenary Soldiers, to defend his Country, for ten Years. But before he could put these things into motion, and bring his designs to effect, he died for grief and anguish of Mind being sensible he had put his innocent Son *Demetrius* to death, upon the Calumnies of one that was far more guilty. *Perseus*, his Son that surviv'd, inherited his Hatred to the *Romans* as well as his Kingdom, but was very unfit to carry on his Designs, through his want of Courage, and the viciousness of his Manners, especially when amongst the Vices and Diseases of his Mind of all sorts, Covetousness bore the chief sway. There is a report also of his not being legitimate, but that the Wife of King *Philip* took him from his Mother *Gratbania*, (a Woman of *Argos*, that earn'd her living by making Cloaths) as soon as he was born, and brought him up privately as her Own. And this might be the chief cause of his contriving the Death of *Demetrius*; for he might well fear, that whilst there was a lawful Successor in the Family, his being illegitimate would not be conceal'd.

Notwithstanding all this, and tho' his Spirit was mean, and Temper so sordid, yet trusting to the strength of his Preparations, he engag'd in a War with the *Romans*, and for a long time maintain'd it. Some of the Captains, and those of Consular Dignity, and great Armies and Fleets, he repulsed, and some of them he vanquish'd: For he overcame *Publius Licinius*, who was the first that invaded *Macedonia*, in an Engagement of the Cavalry; in which he slew 2500 of his brave Soldiers, and took 600 Prisoners; and surprising the Fleet as they rode at Anchor before *Oreum*, he took twenty Ships of Burden, with all their Lading, and sunk the rest that were freighted with Corn. Besides this he made himself master of four Galleys, with five Oars.

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 contempt of the *Romans*, as not able to give him
 sufficient employment, he made an Expedition against
 the *Dardanians*, in which he slew 10000 of those
 barbarous People, and brought a very great Spoil
 away with him. He privately also solicited the *Gauls*,
 (they are also call'd *Basterna*) a warlike Nation, and fa-
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 practis'd with the *Illyrians*, by the means of *Gentbius*
 their King, to join with him in this War. It was also
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 through the promise of Rewards, were to make an Ir-
 ruption into *Italy*, through the lower parts of *Gallia*
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 neral, that was a Man of Wisdom, and vers'd in the
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 one well stricken in years, as being near threescore, yet
 vigorous in his own Person, and surrounded with his
 valiant Sons and Sons-in-law, besides a great number of
 very considerable Relations and Friends, who all of them
 perswaded him to yield to the Desires of the People, who
 called him to the *Consulship*. At first he gave no Ear to
 their Solicitations, but as one averse to govern, refus'd
 both the Honour and Care that attended it ; yet when he
 saw them flocking daily to his Gate, urging him to come
 forth to the place of Election, and prosecuted him with
 Noise and Clamour, he at last granted their Request.
 When he appear'd amongst such as were Candidates, he
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in a Seat ; and fought another Battle with *Hofilius* the Consul, who making an Inroad into his Country by the way of *Elimia*, he forc'd him to retreat ; and when he afterwards stole a March, and was moving secretly through *Thessaly*, he urg'd him to fight, but the Other wou'd not stand the hazard. Nay more, to shew his Contempt of the *Romans*, as not able to give him sufficient employment, he made an Expedition against the *Dardanians*, in which he slew 10000 of those barbarous People, and brought a very great Spoil away with him. He privately also solicited the *Gauls*, (they are also call'd *Basterna*) a warlike Nation, and famous for Horsemen, dwelling near the *Danube* ; and practis'd with the *Illyrians*, by the means of *Gentbius* their King, to join with him in this War. It was also reported, that the *Barbarians* being allur'd by him through the promise of Rewards, were to make an Ir-ruption into *Italy*, through the lower parts of *Gallia Cisalpina*, near the *Adriatick* Sea.

The *Romans* being advertis'd of these things, thought it necessary no longer to choose their Commanders for favour or solicitation, but to pitch upon One for their General, that was a Man of Wisdom, and vers'd in the Management of great Affairs. And such was *Paulus Emilius*, one well stricken in years, as being near threescore, yet vigorous in his own Person, and surrounded with his valiant Sons and Sons-in-law, besides a great number of very considerable Relations and Friends, who all of them perswaded him to yield to the Desires of the People, who called him to the *Consulship*. At first he gave no Ear to their Solicitations, but as one averse to govern, refus'd both the Honour and Care that attended it ; yet when he saw them flocking daily to his Gate, urging him to come forth to the place of Election, and prosecuted him with Noise and Clamour, he at last granted their Request. When he appear'd amongst such as were Candidates, he did not look like One suing for the *Consulship*, but as One certain of Victory and Success ; and as soon as he yielded to come down into the Field, they all receiv'd him

him with so great hopes and chearfulness of Mind, that they unanimously chose him a second time *Consul*; nor would they suffer the Lots to be cast as was usual, to determine which Province should fall to his Share, but immediately decreed him the command of the *Macedonian War*. It is reported, that the very day wherein he was design'd General in that Expedition, and was honourably accompanied home by great numbers of People, he found his Daughter *Tertia*, a very little Girl, all in Tears; whereupon he took her in his Arms, and with a fatherly Tenderneſs ask'd her, *for what it was ſhe cried?* when She catching him about the Neck, and kissing him, said, *O Father, know you not that our Perſeus is dead?* meaning a little Dog of that Name that was a sort of Favourite with her. To which *Emilius* replied, *Good Fortune, my Daughter, I embrace the Omen.* This *Cicero* the Orator relates in his Book of Divination.

It was the Custom for Such as were chosen *Consuls*, from a Pulpit design'd for such Purposes, kindly to bespeak the People, and return them thanks for their Favour; *Emilius* therefore having summon'd an Assembly, spake as follows: *That he sued for the first Consulship, because he himself stood in need of such Honour; but for the Second, because he knew they wanted such a General; upon which account he thought there was no thanks due from Him to Them: If they judg'd they could manage the War by any Other to more advantage, he would willingly yield up his Charge; but if they confided in Him, they were not to make themselves his Collegues in Office, or raise reports, and censure his Actions; but without reply, and to their utmost, to obey such Commands as were necessary to the carrying on of the War: for if they endeavour'd to govern Him who was to command, they would render this Expedition more ridiculous than the former.* By this Speech he imprinted a Reverence for him amongst the Citizens, and great Expectations of future Success; being all of them well pleas'd, that they had pass'd by Such as sought to be prefer'd by Flattery,

and

and pitch'd upon a Commander endu'd with Wisdom, and who had the Courage to tell them the Truth. Thus the People of *Rome* were Servants, and obedient to Reason and Virtue, that they might one day Rule, and make themselves Masters of the World.

Now that *Emilius*, setting forward to the War by a prosperous Voyage and successful Journey, arriv'd with Speed and Safety at his Camp, I attribute to good Fortune; but when I consider the Concerns of the War, and his Government, manag'd partly by his own daring Boldness, partly by his good Counsel, partly by the ready Administration of his Friends, partly by his great Presence of Mind, and Skill to embrace the most proper advice in the extremity of Danger, I cannot ascribe any of his remarkable and famous Actions (as I can Those of other Commanders) to his so-much-celebrated good Fortune; unless you will say that the Covetousness of *Perseus* was the good Fortune of *Emilius*. The truth is, the fear of spending his Money, was the Destruction and utter Ruin of all those splendid and great Preparations, by whose help the *Macedonians* were in hopes to carry on the War with Success: For he had prevail'd with the *Bastarnæ* to send to his Assistance a Body of ten thousand Horse, who had each, according to the Custom of the Country, a Foot Soldier to fight by his Side, who was to keep Pace with him, and supply his Place in case of failure, all of them mercenary Soldiers, a People neither skill'd in Tilling of Land, or Merchandize, or able to get their Living by Grazing, but whose only business and perpetual study it was to fight and conquer. When These came near *Medica*, and were encamp'd and mix'd with the King's Soldiers, being Men of great Stature, admirable at their Exercises, great Boasters, and loud in their Threats against their Enemies, they added Courage to the *Macedonians*, who fancy'd the *Romans* would not be able to abide their coming, but wou'd be frightned at their very Looks and Motions, so strange and terrible were they to behold. When *Perseus* had thus encouraged his Men, and puff'd them up with so

great Hopes, as soon as a Thousand Crowns were demanded for each Captain, according to Agreement, he was so astonish'd and besides himself at the vastness of the Sum, that his Covetousness made him send them back, and refuse their Assistance, as if he had been the Steward, not the Enemy of the *Romans*, and was to give an exact account of the Expences of the War, to Those with whom he waged it: Nay, when his very Enemies were his Tutors, to instruct him what he had to do. For, they had a hundred Thousand Men drawn together, and in a readiness with baggage and equipage suitable, when occasion should require their Service; yet He that was to engage against so considerable Force, and in such a War, whose necessary expences must needs be very great, weigh'd and seal'd up his Money, as if he fear'd or had no right to touch it. And all this was done by one, not descended from the *Lydians* or *Pœnicians*, but who challeng'd to himself the Virtues of *Alexander* and *Philip*, from his Alliance to them; Men who conquered the World by judging, That *Empire was to be purchased by Money, not Money by Empire*; whence it grew a Proverb, *That not Philip but his Gold took the Cities of Greece*. And *Alexander* when he undertook an Expedition against the *Indians*, and found his *Macedonians* incumbred, and to march heavily with their *Persian* Spoils, he first set fire to his own Carriages, and thence persuaded the rest to imitate his Example; that thus freed, they might proceed to the War without hindrance. Whereas *Perseus*, abounding in Wealth, would not preserve himself, his Children, and his Kingdom, at the expence of a small part of his Treasure; but chose rather to be carried away Captive, and shew the *Romans* what a provident Husband he had been for them. For he not only broke his Word with the *Gauls*, and dismiss'd them, but after he had concluded a Treaty with *Gentius* King of *Illyria*, who was to send him a Reinforcement of Troops upon the Payment of three hundred Talents, he depriv'd himself of that Assistance also, by his Avarice and Perfidy. He immediately remitted ten

of those Talents to *Illyria*, where they were pay'd to *Gentius*, and the remaining Sum was counted out to his Ambassadors at *Pella*; but as the Money was to be convey'd from thence in Waggon, *Perseus* gave private Directions to Those who had the Charge of the Convoy to make short Stages, and wait for his farther Orders upon the Frontiers. In the mean time his Ambassador residing with *Gentius*, prest him to break with the *Romans*, and declare himself by some open Act of Hostility. *Gentius*, who had already receiv'd ten Talents as an Earnest, and was assur'd that the whole Sum was upon the Road, suffer'd himself to be prevail'd upon, and in Violation of all Laws Divine and Human, clap'd into Prison the two Ambassadors that had been sent from *Rome* to treat of an Alliance with him. *Perseus*, inform'd of what *Gentius* had done, concluded that there was now no farther need of Money, to make him an Enemy to the *Romans*, but that he had given a lasting Earnest of his Enmity, and sufficiently involved himself in the War, whereupon he defrauded the unfortunatè King of his three hundred Talents, and without any Concern beheld Him, his Wife and Children, in a short time after, dragged out of their Kingdom, as from their Nest, by *Lucius Anicius*, who was sent against him with an Army.

Emilius coming against such an Adversary, made light of his Person, but admired his Preparations and Force: For he had four thousand Horse, and not much fewer than forty thousand *Macedonian* Foot, and planting himself along the Sea-side, at the foot of Mount *Olympus*, in a place impossible to be approach'd, and on all sides fortified with Fences and Bulwarks of Wood, he remain'd there in great security, thinking by Delay and Charge to weary out *Emilius*. But He, in the mean time, wholly intent on his Business, weigh'd all Counsels, and all ways of Attack, and perceiving his Soldiers, from their former want of Discipline, to be impatient of delay, and ready on all turns to teach their General his Duty, angerly reprov'd them, and commanded that they should not intermeddle with what was not their Concern,

but only take care that They and their Arms were in a readiness, and to use their Swords like *Romans*, when their Commander should think fit to employ them. Further, he order'd that the Sentinels by Night should watch without their Arms, that thus they might be more careful and able to resist Sleep, having nothing proper to withstand the Assaults of their Enemies.

That which most infested the Army, was the want of Water, (for only a little, and that foul, flow'd out, or rather came by drops from a Spring near the Sea;) but *Emilius* considering that he was at the foot of the high and woody Mountain *Olympus*, and conjecturing by the thickness and verdure of the Trees, that there were Springs that had their course under ground, dug a great many Holes and Wells in the side of the Mountain, which were presently fill'd with pure Water, which following its natural Bent, and as it were animated by the late Openings which set it in Motion, burst out with the more Force to set itself at Liberty, as it had 'till then been under Pressure and Confinement. Although Some deny that there are any Sources of Water, ready provided and concealed in places from whence they flow, which by their course are discover'd and break forth; but affirm, that they owe their Being and Consistence to the Matter that then grows liquid: Now this change is made by Density and Cold, when the moist Vapour by being closely press'd together, becomes fluid. As Womens Breasts are not like Vessels full of Milk always prepar'd and ready to flow from them; but their Nourishment being chang'd in their Breasts, is there made Milk, and from thence strain'd. In like manner the Places of the Earth that are cold and stor'd with Fountains, do not contain any hidden *Waters* or *Receptacles* which are capable, as from a Source always ready and furnish'd, to supply so many Brooks, and the Depths of so great Rivers; but pressing by, crowding together, and condensing the Vapours and Air, they turn them into that substance. Whence those places that are open'd, by that means do flow and afford more plenty of Water,

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(as the Breasts of Women do Milk by their being suck'd) by moistning the Vapour, and rendring it fluid; whereas the Earth that remains idle and undug, is not capable of producing any Water, whilst it wants that motion which is the true cause of it. But Those that assert this Opinion, give occasion to the Doubtful to argue, That on the same ground there should be no Blood in living Creatures, but that it must be form'd by the Wound, some sort of Spirit or Flesh being chang'd into a Matter that is liquid and proper to flow. Moreover, These are refuted by Such, who digging deep in the Earth to undermine some Strong-Hold, or search for Metals, meet with Rivers, which are not collected by little and little, (which must necessarily be, if they had their Beings at the very Instant the Earth was open'd) but brake out at once with Violence; and upon the cutting through a Rock, there often gushes out great quantities of Water, and then as suddenly ceaseth. But of this enough.

Emilius lay still for some Days, and it is said, that there were never two great Armies so nigh, that enjoy'd so much quiet. When he had tried and considered all things, and was informed that there was yet one Passage left unguarded through *Perrhebia*, by the Temple of *Apollo*, and the great *Peak*, he hoped more from the Condition of the Place, which was left defenceless, than he feared from the roughness and difficulty of the Passage, and order'd the Matter to be consider'd in Council. Amongst those that were present at the Council, *Scipio*, surnamed *Nasica*, Son-in-law to *Scipio Africanus*, who afterwards bore such great sway in the Senate-house, stood up first, and offer'd to command Those that should be sent to encompass the Enemy. *Fabius Maximus*, eldest Son of *Emilius*, although yet very young, disputed that Honour with *Nasica*. *Emilius* rejoicing at this noble Emulation in his Son, appointed not so many as *Polybius* relates, but as many as *Nasica* himself tells us he took, in that short Epistle he writ to a certain King concerning this Expedition.

For he had three Thousand *Italians* that were not *Romans*, and his left Wing consisted of five Thousand; to These *Scipio* joined one hundred and twenty Horsemen, and two Hundred *Thracians* and *Cretans* intermix'd, that had been sent by *Harpalus*. With this Detachment he began his March towards the Sea, and encamp'd near the Temple of *Hercules*, as if he design'd to embark, and so to sail round and environ the Enemy. But when the Soldiers had supp'd, and that it was dark, he made the Captains acquainted with his real Intentions, and marching all night a quite contrary way to that of the Sea, 'till he came under the Temple of *Apollo Pythius*, he there rested his Army. In this Place Mount *Olympus* stretches itself in height more than ten furlongs, as appears by this Epigram made by Him that measur'd it.

*Thy Top, Olympus, measur'd from the Place
The Pythian Temple does so nobly grace,
Ten compleat Furlongs does in height exceed.
—— Xenagoras this did leave upon Record,
He travell'd here, here be that God ador'd.*

'Tis confess'd, *Geometricians* affirm, that no Mountain in height, or Sea in depth, exceeds ten Furlongs; yet it seems probable that *Xenagoras* took not his Measures at all Adventures, but according to the Rules of Art, and with Instruments fit for that purpose. Here it was that *Nasica* passed the Night.

A traiterous *Cretan* who fled to the Enemy in the March, discovered to *Perseus* the Design which the *Romans* had to encompass him: Who seeing *Emilius* lay still, mistrusted no such Attempt. He was startled at the News, yet removed not his Camp, but sent two Thousand mercenary Soldiers, and two Thousand *Macedonians*, under the Command of *Milo*, with order to hasten with all Diligence, and possess themselves of the Straits. *Polybius* relates, that the *Romans* set upon them whilst they slept; but *Nasica*, that there was a sharp

sharp and dangerous Conflict on the top of the Mountain; that He himself encounter'd a mercenary *Tbra-cian*, pierc'd him through with his Dart, and slew him; and that the Enemy being forc'd to retreat, and *Milo* stript to his Coat shamefully flying without his Armour, he followed without danger, and all the Army march'd down into the Country.

Perseus, quite dispirited at this Overthrow, and fallen from all his Hopes, remov'd his Camp in haste, and retired full of Fear and Apprehension. However it was necessary for him either to stop before *Pydne*, and there run the hazard of a Battle, or disperse his Army into Cities, and there expect the event of the War, which being once enter'd into his Country, could not be driven out without great Slaughter and Bloodshed. But whilst he was fluctuating under this Uncertainty, he was told by his Friends that he was much superior in number, and that his Troops, who were to fight in defence of their Wives and Children, must needs be endued with great Courage, especially when all things were to be done in sight of their King, who himself was engaged in equal Danger. This Representation gave him new Courage, so that pitching his Camp, he prepared to fight, view'd the Country, and gave his Commands, as if he design'd to set upon the *Romans* as soon as they approached. The Place where he encamped was a Field, both proper to draw up a Phalanx, which requir'd a plain Valley and even Ground, and also had divers little Hills one join'd to another, which serv'd for a Retreat to Such as were lightly arm'd and fitted to skirmish, and gave them all Opportunities to compass the Enemy; through the middle run the Rivers *Eson* and *Leucus*, which though not very deep, it being the latter end of Summer, yet were they likely enough to give the *Romans* some trouble.

As soon as *Emilius* was joined to *Nasica*, he advanced in Battle-array against the Enemy; but when he found how they were drawn up, and the number of their Forces, he stood still as one amazed, considering with himself

himself what was proper to be done. But the young Officers being eager to fight press'd him earnestly not to delay, and most of all *Nasica*, flush'd with his late Success on *Olympus*. To whom *Emilius* answered with a Smile: *So would I do were I of your Age, but my many Victories have taught me the Miscarriages of the Conquer'd, and forbid me to engage such as are weary with their long March, against an Army so well drawn up and prepar'd for Battle.*

Then he gave Command, that the Front of his Army, and such as were in sight of the Enemy, should imbattle themselves, as ready to engage, and Those in the Rear should cast up the Trenches, and fortify the Camp; so that the foremost of his Men still wheeling off by degrees, their whole Order was chang'd, the Battle insensibly withdrawn, and all his Army incamped without noise.

When it was Night, and no Man after his Supper thought of any thing but Sleep and Rest, all on a sudden the Moon, which was then at full, and very high, grew dark, and by degrees losing her Light, cast divers sorts of Colours, 'till at length she was totally eclipsed. The *Romans*, according to their Custom, with the noise of Brass Pans, and lifting up a great many Firebrands and Torches, endeavour'd to recover her Light: Whilst the *Macedonians* behav'd themselves far otherwise; for Horror and Amazement seiz'd their whole Army, and a Rumour crept by degrees into their Camp, that this Eclipse portended no less than the loss of their King. But *Emilius*, who was no Novice in these things, but very well understood the seeming Irregularities of Eclipses, and that in a certain Revolution of Time, the Moon in her Course was obscur'd and hid by the Shadow of the Earth, till passing that Region of Darkness she became again enlightned by the Sun: Yet being very devout, a religious Observer of Sacrifices, and well skill'd in the Art of Divination, as soon as he perceiv'd the Moon regain'd her former Lustre, he offer'd up to her eleven Heifers: At the break of Day he

he sacrific'd to *Hercules*, and had offer'd up Twenty before he receiv'd any token that his Offering was accepted; but at the one and twentieth the signs promis'd Victory to Such as fought only to defend themselves. Then he vow'd a Hecatomb and Solemn Sports to *Hercules*, and commanded his Captains to make ready for Battle, staying only till the Sun should decline, and come about to the West, lest being in their Faces in the Morning it should dazle the Eyes of his Soldiers; so he whil'd away the time in his Tent, which was open towards the Valley where his Enemies were encamp'd. When it grew towards Evening, Some tell us *Emilius* himself laid the following Design, that the Enemy might first begin the Fight: He turn'd loose a Horse without a Bridle, and sent some of the *Romans* to catch him, upon whose following the Beast, the Battle begun. Others relate, that the *Thracians*, under the Command of one *Alexander*, set upon the *Roman* Carriages that brought Forage to the Camp: That to oppose these a Party of seven hundred *Ligurians* were immediately detach'd, and that Relief coming still from both Armies, the main Bodies were at last engag'd. *Emilius*, like a wise Pilot, foreseeing by the present Waves and Motion of the Armies, the greatness of the following Storm, came out of his Tent, went through the Legions, and encouraged his Soldiers. *Nasica* in the mean time, who was advanc'd to the Place where the Skirmish began, saw the whole force of the Enemy preparing to engage. First march'd the *Thracians*, who, he himself tells us, were very terrible to behold, for they were Men of great Stature, with bright and glittering Shields, their Cassocks were black, their Legs arm'd with Greaves; and as they mov'd, their weighty long Spears shook on their Shoulders. Next the *Thracians*, march'd the mercenary Soldiers, arm'd after the different Fashions of their Countries; and with these the *Pæonians* were mingled. These were follow'd by a third Body of *Macedonians*, all chosen Men, of known Courage, and all in the prime of their Age, who glitter'd

ter'd in their gilt Armour, and new scarlet Coats. Behind these were the old Bands drawn out of the Camp, all arm'd with Brass Targets; the whole Plain shin'd with the brightness of their Arms, and the Mountains rang with their Noises and Shouts, by which they gave mutual Encouragement one to the other. In this order they march'd, and that with such Boldness and Speed, that Those that were first slain, died but at two Furlongs distance from the *Roman* Camp. The Battle being begun, *Emilius* came in, and found that the foremost of the *Macedonians* had already pitch'd the end of their Spears into the Shields of his *Romans*, so that it was impossible to come near them with their Swords. When he saw this, and that the rest of the *Macedonians* took the Shields that hung on their backs, and brought them before them, and all at once stoop'd their Pikes against their Enemies Bucklers, and well consider'd the great Strength of their united Targets, and dreadful Appearance of a Front so arm'd, he was seiz'd with Amazement and Fear, as not having seen any thing more terrible, nor would he stick afterwards to give a Relation of this Sight, and his own Dread. But that he might not discourage his Troops he hid from them his Apprehensions, and rode through his Army without either Breast-plate or Helmet, with a pleasant and cheerful Countenance.

On the contrary, (as *Polybius* relates) no sooner was the Battle begun, but the *Macedonian* King basely withdrew to the City *Pydne*, under a pretence of Sacrificing to *Hercules*; a God that is not wont to regard the faint Offerings of Cowards, or grant such Requests as are unjust; it not being reasonable, that He that never shoots, should carry away the Prize; He triumph that sneaks from the Battle; He that takes no pains meet with success, or the wicked Man prosper. But to *Emilius* his Petition the God listned, for he pray'd for Victory with his Sword in his Hand, and was fighting at the same time that he implor'd the Divine Assistance.

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But a certain Author call'd *Posidonius*, who writ the History of *Perseus*, and tells us he liv'd at that Time, and was himself in this Battle, denies that he left the Field either through Fear or pretence of Sacrificing, but that the very Day before the Fight he receiv'd a Kick from a Horse on his Thigh; that though very much indispos'd, and dissuaded by all his Friends, he commanded one of his Horses to be brought, and enter'd the Field unarm'd; that amongst an infinite number of Darts that flew about on all sides, one of Iron lighted on him, and though not with the point, yet by a glance hit him with such Force on his left side, that it rent his Cloaths, and so bruise'd his Flesh, that the Scar remain'd a long time after. This is what *Posidonius* says in defence of *Perseus*.

The Romans not being able to make a Breach in the Phalanx, one *Salus* a Commander of the *Pelignians* snatch'd the Ensign of his Company, and threw it amongst the Enemies; which as soon as the *Pelignians* perceiv'd, (for the *Italians* esteem it base and dishonourable to abandon their Standard) they rush'd with great Violence towards that Place, and the Conflict was very fierce, and the Slaughter terrible on both sides: For These endeavoured to cut their Spears asunder with their Swords, or to beat them back with their Shields, or put them by with their Hands; on the other side, the *Macedonians* held their Pikes in both Hands, and pierc'd those that came in their way and their Armour quite through, no Shield or Corset being able to resist the force of their Spears. The *Pelignians* were thrown headlong to the Ground, who against all Reason, and more like Brutes than Men, had run upon unavoidable Dangers, and certain Death; And their first Ranks being slain, those that were behind were forc'd to give back; it cannot be said they fled, but that they retreated towards Mount *Olocrus*. When *Emilius* saw this, (as *Posidonius* relates) he rent his Cloaths, for some of his Men were ready to fly, the rest were not willing to engage with a Phalanx, into which they could hope

hope for no Entrance, but seem'd altogether unconquerable, and as secure as if intrench'd, whilst guarded with such great numbers of Pikes, which on all sides threatened the Assailers. But at length as the Unevenness of the Ground, and the large Extent of the Enemies Front made it impossible for them to preserve that Hedge, or Rampart of Shields and Pikes every where intire and unbroken, *Emilius* perceiv'd a great many Interstices and Breaches in the *Macedonian* Phalanx; as it usually happens in all great Armies, according to the different Efforts of the Combatants, whilst in one part they press forward with eagerness, and in Another are forc'd to give back. Wherefore taking Advantage of this Occasion, with all speed he divided his Men into small Companies, and gave them order to fall into the Intervals, and void places of the Enemies Body, and to make their Attack not all together in any one Place, but to engage in separate Parties, and attack them in several Places at one and the same time. These Commands *Emilius* gave to his Captains, and They to their Soldiers; who had no sooner enter'd the Spaces, and separated their Enemies, but Some charg'd them in Flank, where they were naked and expos'd, Others fetching a Compass, set on them in the Rear, so that in a Moment this terrible Phalanx, whose whole Force consisted in its Union, and the Impression it made when closely join'd, and cemented as it were together, was dissolv'd, and broken. And when they came to fight Hand to Hand, the *Macedonians* smote in vain upon firm and long Targets with their little Swords, whilst their slight Shields were not able to sustain the weight and force of Those of the *Romans*, which pierc'd through all their Armour to their Bodies, so that Many of them were wounded, and all sorely distressed.

It was here the greatest Efforts were made on both sides, when *Marcus* the Son of *Cato*, and Son-in-law to *Emilius*, after having given many Proofs of a most undaunted Courage and Resolution, unhappily lost his Sword, which dropt out of his Hand as he was fight-

ing. As he was a Youth, who had acquir'd all the Advantages of a generous Education, as he was the Son of a renown'd Father, to whom he thought himself answerable for all his Actions, and was persuaded that he had better die a thousand times than live under the Dishonour of suffering such a Spoil to remain in the Power of his Enemies, he flew through all the Ranks, and wherever he met with a Friend, or Companion, he in few words acquainted him with his Misfortune, and implor'd his Assistance. In a Moment he found himself surrounded with a Troop of the most Hardy, and Determin'd, who follow'd their Leader, and fell with a desperate Bravery upon the *Macedonians*, whom after a sharp Conflict, many Wounds, and much Slaughter, they repuls'd, possess'd the Place that was now deserted and free, and set themselves to search for the Sword, which at last they found cover'd with a great heap of Arms and dead Carcases. Overjoy'd with this Success, they sang Songs of Triumph, and with more eagerness than ever charg'd the Foes that yet remain'd firm and unbroke. In the end, three thousand of the chosen Men, who kept their Stations, and fought valiantly to the last, were all cut in pieces, and very great was the Slaughter of Such as fled, insomuch that the Plains and the Hills were fill'd with dead Bodies, and the Water of the River *Leucus*, which the *Romans* did not pass till the next day after the Battle, was then mingled with Blood; for it is said, there fell more than twenty five thousand of the Enemy; of the *Romans*, as *Possidonius* relates, an hundred; as *Nasica*, only fourscore. This Battle, though so great, was very quickly decided; it being (1) the ninth (1) *Three in the After-noon.* Hour when they first engag'd, and not ten when the Enemy was vanquish'd; the rest of the day was spent in the pursuit of such as fled, whom they follow'd a hundred and twenty furlongs, so that it was far in the Night when they return'd.

All the rest were met by their Servants with Torches, and brought back with Joy and great Triumph to their Tents, which were set out with Lights, and deck'd with Wreaths of Ivy and Laurel. But the General himself was overwhelm'd with Grief; for of the two Sons that serv'd under him in the War, the youngest was missing, whom he held most dear, and whose Courage and good Qualities, he knew, much excell'd Those of his Brethren; as he was full of Courage and ambitious of Honour, but withal unexperienced by reason of his Youth, he concluded he was lost by engaging too far amongst his Enemies, for want of knowing better, and in the heat of Action. The whole Army was sensible of his Dejection and Sorrow, and quitting their Suppers, ran about with Lights, Some to *Emilius* his Tent, Some out of the Trenches to seek him amongst such as were slain in the first Onset. There was nothing but Grief in the Camp, and the Valley was fill'd with the Cries of such as call'd out for *Scipio*; for from his very Youth, he was endued above any of his Equals, with all the good Qualities requisite either for Command or Counsel. At length, when it was late, and they almost despair'd of him, he return'd from the Pursuit with only two or three of his Companions, all cover'd with the fresh Blood of his Enemies, having, like a well-bred Dog, follow'd the Chase with too eager Pleasure of Victory. This was that *Scipio*, that afterwards destroy'd *Carthage* and *Numantium*; He was without dispute the valiantest of the *Romans*, and had the greatest Authority amongst them. Thus Fortune deferring the execution of her Spite at so brave an Exploit, to some other time, let *Emilius* at present enjoy this Victory with full Satisfaction and Delight.

As for *Perseus*, he fled from *Pydne* to *Pella*, with his Horsemen, which were as yet almost entire. But when the Foot met them, they upbraided them as Cowards and Traitors, threw them off their Horses, and fell to Blows, with which many were wounded. *Perseus* fearing the Consequences of the Tumult, forsook the com-

mon Road, and lest he should be known, pull'd off his
 Purple Robe, and carry'd it before him; took his
 Crown in his hand; and that he might the better con-
 verse with his Friends, alighted from his Horse and led
 him. Most of his Attendance left him by degrees,
 One pretending to tie his Shoe that was loose, Another
 to water his Horse, a Third to drink Himself; none of
 them having so much reason to fear their Enemies, as
 His Cruelty, for he was grown wild at this misfortune,
 and endeavour'd to clear Himself by laying the Blame
 upon Others. He arriv'd at *Pella* in the Night, where
Euætus and *Eudeus*, two of his Treasurers, came to
 him, and what with their reflecting on his former Mis-
 carriages, and their free and unseasonable Admonitions
 and Counsels upon the present Situation of his Affairs,
 so exasperated him, that he kill'd them Both, stabbing
 them with his own Dagger. After This no body stuck
 to him but *Evander* the *Cretan*, *Archedemus* the *Eto-
 lian*, and *Neo* the *Bæotian*: And of the common Sol-
 diers there follow'd him only Those from *Crete*, not out
 of any good-will to his Person but for the sake of his
 Riches, to which they stuck as close as the Bees to their
 Hive. For he carried an immense Treasure about with
 him, out of which he suffered them to take Cups,
 Bowls, and other Vessels of Silver and Gold, to the
 value of fifty Talents. But when he was come to *Am-
 phipolis*, and afterwards to *Galepsus*, and his fears were
 a little abated, he relapsed into his old and natural
 disease of Covetousness, and bewailed to his Friends
 that he had through inadvertency distributed the Gold
 Plate belonging to *Alexander* the Great, amongst the
Cretans, and besought Those that had it, with Tears in
 his Eyes to exchange with him again for Money. Those
 that understood him thoroughly, knew very well he only
 plaid the *Cretan* with those of *Crete*; but They that
 believ'd him, and restored what they had, were cheated;
 for he not only did not pay the Money, but by craft
 got thirty Talents more of his Friends into his Hands,
 (which in a short time after fell to the Enemy) and

failing into *Samothracia*, fled to the Temple of *Castor* and *Pollux* for refuge.

The *Macedonians* were always accounted great lovers of their Kings; but now, as if the chief Pillar of their Constitution was broken, and the Whole dissolved, they submitted to *Emilius*, and in two days time made Him Master of their whole Country. This seems agreeable to their Opinion that ascribe all his great Actions to good Fortune; which is farther confirmed by the Omen that happen'd at the Sacrifice in *Amphipolis*, where as *Emilius* was going to offer, and the holy Rites began, a Flash of Lightning fell on the Altar, set the Sacrifice on Fire, and consecrated it. But the quick spreading of his Fame on this occasion is not less miraculous, nor shews less of the Protection of the Gods; for the fourth day after *Perseus* was vanquish'd at *Pydne*, whilst the People were beholding the running of the Horses in the *Circus*, there arose an unexpected Report that *Emilius* had overcome *Perseus*, and reduced all *Macedonia*. This report was immediately spread among the People, which caused an universal Joy, and Shouts and Acclamations fill'd the City all that Day: but when no certain Author of the News could be found, and every one appeared to have had it from hearsay, the Story was dropt for the present and vanished; 'till a few Days after it came confirmed, and then the former intelligence was look'd upon as miraculous, which by a Fiction, had told the real Truth. It is reported also, that the News of a Battle that was fought in *Italy*, near the River *Sagra*, was carry'd into *Peloponnesus* the same day; and of that nigh *Mycale*, against the *Medes*, to *Platea*. When the *Romans* had defeated the *Tarquins*, who were combin'd with the *Latins*, there were almost at the same time at *Rome* seen two goodly tall Men, who themselves brought the News from the Camp. The first Man that spake to them in the Market-place near the Fountain, where they were refreshing their Horses, which were all of a Fome, much wondred at the Report of the Victory, when, 'tis said, they Both smil'd

and

and gently strok'd his Beard with their Hands, the Hairs of which from being black, was on the Spot changed to be yellow. This Circumstance gave Credit to what they said, and fix'd the Name of *Enobarbus* (which is as much as Yellow Beard) on the Man. But that which happen'd in our own Time, will make all These credible; for when *Lucius Antonius* rebell'd against *Domitian*, and *Rome* was in a Consternation, expecting to see all *Germany* up in Arms, the People on a sudden, no body knows upon what account, spread abroad a Rumour of the Victory, and the News ran current through the City, that *Antonius* himself was slain, his whole Army destroy'd, and that not so much as one Man had escap'd; nay, this belief carry'd with it such Clearness and Force, that many of the Magistrates offer'd up Sacrifices. But when at length the Author of this Report was sought, and none was to be found, it vanish'd by degrees; whilst every one shifted it off, from Himself to Another, and at last was lost in the numberless Crowd, as in a vast Ocean; and having no solid Ground to support its Credit, was in a short time not so much as nam'd in the City. Nevertheless when *Domitian* march'd out with his Forces to the War, he met with Messengers and Letters, that gave him a Relation of the Victory; and the Fame of this Conquest came the very Day it was gain'd, though the distance of the Places was more than two thousand five hundred Miles. The truth of this no Man amongst us can be ignorant of.

But to proceed: *Cneius Octavius*, who was join'd in command with *Emilius*, came to an Anchor with his Fleet under *Samothrace*, where out of his Devotion to the Gods, he permitted *Perseus* to enjoy the Benefit of Refuge, but took care that he should not escape by Sea. Notwithstanding This, *Perseus* secretly practis'd with *Oroandes* of *Crete*, who was Master of a Bark, to convey Him and his Treasure away. He, making use of the common Arts of his Country, took in the Treasure, and advis'd him to come in the Night with his

Wife, Children, and necessary Attendants, to the Port call'd *Demetrius*; but as soon as it grew dark he set sail without him.

The Hour appointed being come, *Perseus* with infinite Pains and Difficulty crept through a strait Window, crost a Garden, and with his Wife and Children, Persons unfit for such Labour and Fatigue, scrambled over an old ruinous Wall. But who can express the Anguish, and Agony he was in, when a Person who met him wandering on the Shore, told him he had seen *Oroandes* put out to Sea; for the day then began to dawn. At this fatal News the disconsolate Prince fetch'd a deep sigh, such as might have moved the most barbarous Heart to Compassion; and being now bereft of all Hope he made back towards the Wall, not creeping as before in a clandestine Manner, for he saw he was discover'd, but endeavouring with all his Might to get thither if possible with his Wife, and eldest Son *Philip*, before the *Romans* cou'd overtake them. He had committed his other Children into the Hands of *Ion* of *Theſſalonica*, who had been his Favourite, but betray'd him now in his Adversity, for he deliver'd them up to *Oſtavius*; so that, as Beasts do when their young are taken, he was compell'd to yield himself to Those, who had his Children in their Power. His greatest Confidence was in *Nasica*, and 'twas to Him he call'd, but he not being there, he bewail'd his Misfortune; and seeing there was no possible Remedy, surrender'd himself to *Oſtavius*. And here it was that he made it manifest, that he was possess'd with a Vice more sordid than Covetousness itself, to wit, the fondness of Life; by which he depriv'd himself even of Pity, the only thing that Fortune never takes away from the most wretched; for he desir'd to be brought to *Emilius*, who arose from his Seat, and accompany'd with his Friends went to receive him with Tears in his Eyes, as a great Man fallen by the special Appointment of the Gods, and his own ill Fortune; whilst *Perseus*, which was the most scandalous of Sights, threw him-

self at his Feet, embrac'd his Knees, and utter'd such unmanly Cries and Petitions, as *Emilius* was not able to bear, or would vouchsafe to hear; but looking on him with a sad and angry Countenance, *What!* (says he) *Miserable as thou art, dost thou thus acquit Fortune, of what might seem her greatest Crime? For by these Actions thou appearest worthy of thy Calamity, and that it is not thy present Condition, but former Happiness, that was more than thy Deserts. What! dost thou thus take away from my Victory, and make my Conquest little, by proving Thyself a Coward, and a Foe below a Roman? the most unhappy Valour challenges a great Respect, even from Enemies; but Cowardise, though never so successful, from the Romans always meets with Scorn.* Yet for all this he took him up, gave him his hand, and deliver'd him into the Custody of *Tubero*.

After this he carried his Sons, his Sons-in-law, and others of the chiefest Quality, especially Those of the younger sort, back with him into his Tent, where for a long time he sat down without speaking one word, insomuch that they all wondred at him. At last, he began to discourse of Fortune and human Affairs. *Is it possible, said he, for a Man so to be mis-led in Prosperity, as to suffer himself to be puff'd up, and grow arrogant upon having conquer'd Nations, forced Cities, and subdued Kingdoms, especially since Fortune herself, by those visible Marks of her Instability, and the melancholy Instances of human Frailty, takes care to admonish the haughty Conqueror, that even in the height and profusion of her Favours he is to expect from her nothing solid, nothing permanent! In what season of Life can a Man think himself secure, when in the very Article of Victory he is forced to dread the Almighty Power of Fortune, and in the full Tide of Joy and Success meets with the strongest Arguments, of Jealousy and Distrust, as often as the Principles of Reason lead him to reflect on the immutable Order of Fate, which spares none, but humbles one Man to-day, and to-morrow Another? When a Moment of time has been sufficient to overthrow the House of Alexander,*
which

which had exalted itself to the highest Pitch of Power, and reduced almost the whole World to Subjection; when we are trampling on the Ruins of that House, so flourishing heretofore; when we behold her Princes, who but yesterday were at the Head of a formidable Army compos'd of so many Millions, reduced to-day to the necessity of asking Bread from their Enemies; shall We, who behold This, presume to flatter ourselves that our Affairs are settled upon a solid Foundation, and that Time itself shall have no Dominion over them? Do you not therefore, my Children, for to you I speak, do you not suppress within you that Pride and Insolence which Victory inspires? Do you not humble yourselves with the Thoughts of what is to come, and expect with an awful Submission whatever it shall please Providence to inflict on each of You in Abatement of this day's Prosperity? Emilius having spoke much more to the same purpose, dismiss'd the young Men, whom this grave Discourse had seasonably chastised, and like a Bridle had curb'd their Vain-glory and Insolence.

When this was done, he sent his Army into Quarters of Refreshment, and went himself to visit Greece; there to taste a Pleasure not more honourable, than conducing to the Benefit of Mankind. For as he pass'd through the Cities he eas'd the Peoples Grievances, reform'd their Government, and bestow'd Gifts upon them; to Some Corn, to Others Oil, out of the King's Store-Houses, in which (they report) there were such vast quantities laid up, that there wanted People to give to before they could be exhausted. In *Delphi* he found a great square Pillar of white Marble, design'd for the Pedestal of King *Perseus* his Statue, on which he commanded his Own to be plac'd; alledging, that it was but just, that the Conquered should give place to the Conqueror. In *Olympia* he is said to have utter'd that so celebrated Speech, *This Jupiter of Phidias is the very Jupiter of Homer*. When the ten Commissioners arriv'd from *Rome*, he deliver'd up again to the *Macedonians* their Cities and Country, granting them to live at liberty,

liberty, and according to their own Laws, only yielding to the *Romans* the Tribute of a hundred Talents, whereas they were wont to pay double that Sum to their Kings. Then he celebrated all manner of Shows, and Games, and Sacrifices to the Gods, and made great Entertainments and Feasts; the Charge of all which he liberally defray'd out of the King's Treasury; and shew'd that he understood the ordering and placing of his Guests, and how every Man should be receiv'd according to his Rank and Quality, to such an exact nicety, that the *Greeks* were surpris'd to find him so expert and careful, even about trifles, and that a Man engaged in so many weighty Affairs shou'd observe a Decorum in such little matters. That which gave him the greatest satisfaction was, that amidst such magnificent and splendid Preparations, he Himself was always the most grateful Sight, and greatest Pleasure to Those he entertained. And he told Them that seem'd to wonder at his Diligence, *That there was the same Spirit required in marshalling a Banquet, as an Army; whilst the One was to be rendred very dreadful to the Enemy, the Other very acceptable to the Guests.* Nor did Men less praise his Liberality, and the Greatness of his Mind, than his other Virtues; for he would not so much as see those great Quantities of Silver and Gold, which were heap'd together out of the King's Palaces, but deliver'd them to the Questors, to be put into the Publick Treasury. He only permitted his own Sons, who were great Lovers of Learning, to take the King's Books; and when he distributed such Rewards as were due to extraordinary Valour, he gave his Son-in-law, *Tubero*, only a Bowl that weigh'd five Pounds: This is that *Tubero* we have already mention'd, who was one of the sixteen Relations that liv'd together, and were all maintain'd out of one little Farm; and 'tis said that this was the first Plate that ever enter'd the House of the *Elians*, and This was brought thither, as an Honour and Reward of Virtue; for before this time, neither

which had exalted itself to the highest Pitch of Power, and reduced almost the whole World to Subjection; when we are trampling on the Ruins of that House, so flourishing heretofore; when we behold her Princes, who but yesterday were at the Head of a formidable Army compos'd of so many Millions, reduced to-day to the necessity of asking Bread from their Enemies; shall We, who behold This, presume to flatter ourselves that our Affairs are settled upon a solid Foundation, and that Time itself shall have no Dominion over them? Do you not therefore, my Children, for to you I speak, do you not suppress within you that Pride and Insolence which Victory inspires? Do you not humble yourselves with the Thoughts of what is to come, and expect with an awful Submission whatever it shall please Providence to inflict on each of You in Abatement of this day's Prosperity? *Emilius* having spoke much more to the same purpose, dismiss'd the young Men, whom this grave Discourse had seasonably chastised, and like a Bridle had curb'd their Vain-glory and Insolence.

When this was done, he sent his Army into Quarters of Refreshment, and went himself to visit *Greece*; there to taste a Pleasure not more honourable, than conducing to the Benefit of Mankind. For as he pass'd through the Cities he eas'd the Peoples Grievances, reform'd their Government, and bestow'd Gifts upon them; to Some Corn, to Others Oil, out of the King's Store-Houses, in which (they report) there were such vast quantities laid up, that there wanted People to give to before they could be exhausted. In *Delphi* he found a great square Pillar of white Marble, design'd for the Pedestal of King *Perseus* his Statue, on which he commanded his Own to be plac'd; alledging, that it was but just, that the Conquered should give place to the Conqueror. In *Olympia* he is said to have utter'd that so celebrated Speech, *This Jupiter of Phidias is the very Jupiter of Homer*. When the ten Commissioners arriv'd from *Rome*, he deliver'd up again to the *Macedonians* their Cities and Country, granting them to live at liberty,

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neither

neither They nor their Wives would ever make use either of Silver or Gold.

Having Thus well settled Things, taken his leave of the *Grecians*, and exhorted the *Macedonians*, that mindful of that Liberty they had receiv'd from the *Romans*, they should endeavour to maintain it, by their Obedience to the Laws, and Concord amongst themselves, he departed for *Epire*; for he had Orders from the Senate, to give the Soldiers that follow'd him in the War against *Perseus*, the Pillage of the Cities of that Country. Wherefore, that he might surprize and set upon them all at once, he summon'd ten of the principal Men out of every City, whom he commanded on such an appointed Day, to bring all the Gold and Silver they had either in their private Houses or Temples, and with every one of these, as if it were for this very purpose, and under a pretence of searching for and receiving the Gold, he sent a Centurion, and a Guard of Soldiers; who, the set Day being come, rose all at once, and at the very self-same time fell upon them; so that in the space of one hour a hundred and fifty thousand Persons were made Slaves, and threescore and ten Cities sack'd. Yet what was given to each Soldier, out of so vast a Destruction and utter Ruin, amounted to no more than eleven Drachms; which made all Men dread the Issue of a War, when the Wealth of a whole Nation thus divided, turn'd to so little Advantage and Profit to each particular Man.

When *Emilius* had done This, which was perfectly contrary to his gentle and mild Nature, he went down to *Oricum*, where he embark'd his Army for *Italy*. He sail'd up the River *Tiber* in the King's Galley, that had sixteen Oars on a side, and was richly adorn'd with the Armour of the Prisoners, and with Clothes of Purple and Scarlet; so that rowing the Vessels slowly against the Stream, the *Romans* that crowded on the Shore to meet him, had a taste of his following Triumph. But the Soldiers who had cast a covetous Eye

on

on the Treasures of *Perseus*, when they cou'd not obtain what they thought they so well deserv'd, were not only secretly enrag'd, and angry with *Emilius* for it, but openly complain'd, that he had been a severe and tyrannical Commander over them; nor were they so desirous of a Triumph as might have been expected. When *Servius Galba*, who was *Emilius* his Enemy, though he had commanded a thousand Men under him, understood This, he pull'd off the Mask, and was so bold as to affirm, That a Triumph was not to be allow'd him; and sow'd divers Calumnies among the Soldiers, which yet further increas'd their ill-will towards him, and desir'd the Tribunes of the People, because the four hours that were remaining of the Day could not suffice for the Accusation, that they would put it off till another. But when the Tribunes commanded him to speak then, if he had any thing to say, he began a long Oration, stuff'd with all manner of Reproaches, in which he spent the remaining part of the time, and the Tribunes, when it was dark, dismiss'd the Assembly. The Soldiers growing more vehement by this, throng'd all about *Galba*, and entring into a Conspiracy, early in the Morning again beset the Capitol, where the Tribunes had appointed the following Assembly to be held. As soon as it was day, it was put to the Vote, and the first Tribune with a general Consent rejected the Triumph. When what was done was spread about, and understood by the rest of the Assembly, the common People declar'd themselves very much griev'd, that *Emilius* should meet with such Ignominy; but this was only in words, which had no effect; whilst the chief of the Senate exclaim'd against it as a base Action, and excited one another to repress the Boldness and Insolence of the Soldiers, which, if not timely prevented, would in a while become altogether headstrong and ungovernable. Wherefore pressing the Crowd, they came up in a Body, and desir'd the Tribunes to defer Polling, till they had deliver'd what they had to say to the People. All things thus suspended, and Silence being made, *Marcus Servilius* stood up, a Man of Consular Dignity,
and

and who had kill'd twenty three of his Enemies in single Combat. I am now (said he) convinced more than ever, that Paulus Emilius is an able General, since he has perform'd such famous and great Exploits, with an Army so full of Sedition and Licentiousness; but can never enough admire how a People that seem'd to glory in the Triumphs over the Illyrians and Africans, can now through Envy refuse to see the Macedonian King led alive Captive, and all the Glory of Philip and Alexander subdu'd by the Roman Power. For is it not a strange thing for you, who upon a slight Rumour of Victory, that came by chance into the City, did offer Sacrifices, and put up your Requests unto the Gods, that you might see the Report verifys'd; now, when the General is returned with an undoubted Conquest, to defraud the Gods of the Honour, and yourselves of the Joy, as if you fear'd to behold the greatness of his warlike deeds, or were resolv'd to spare the King. And of the two, much better were it to put a stop to the Triumph, out of Pity unto Him, than out of Envy to your General; yet to such a height of Power are Malice and Envy arriv'd amongst you, that he who never saw a naked sword, dares judge of Triumphs, and a Man with an untann'd complexion, from always living in a shade, shall decide of the Merit of a General before you, who from so many years Service and such Numbers of Wounds are the only competent Judges of these matters. And at the same time putting aside his Garment, he shew'd an infinite number of Scars upon his Breast, and turning about discover'd those Parts which are not decent to be expos'd. Then applying himself to Galba, who fell a laughing when he saw them swell'd, Thou (says he) deridest me for these Swellings, in which I glory before my Fellow-Citizens, for 'tis in their Service, in which I rode incessantly night and day, that I receiv'd them; but go on to collect the Votes, whilst I follow after, and note the base and ungrateful, and such as choose rather to obey the Rabble in War, than to be commanded by their General. 'Tis said, this Speech so stopp'd the Soldiers Mouths, and alter'd their Minds, that all the Tribes decreed a Triumph for Emilius; which was perform'd after this manner.

The

The People erected Scaffolds in the *Forum*, and Places where the Running of Horses us'd to be seen, (they are call'd by them *Cirques*) and in all other parts of the City, where they could best behold the Pomp. The Spectators were clad in white Garments, all the Temples were open, and full of Garlands and Perfumes, the Ways clear'd and cleans'd by a great many Officers and Tipstaves, that removed such as throng'd the Passages, or straggld up and down. This Triumph lasted three Days. On the First, which was scarce long enough for the Sight, was to be seen the Statues, Pictures and Images, of an extraordinary bigness, which were taken from the Enemy, drawn upon seven hundred and fifty Chariots. On the Second, was carried in a great many Wains the fairest and richest Armour of the *Macedonians* both of Brasse and Steel, all newly furbish'd and glistering; which although pil'd up with the greatest Art and Order, yet seem'd to be tumbled on heaps carelessly and by chance; Helmets were thrown upon Shields, Coats of Mail upon Greaves, *Cretian* Targets and *Tbracian* Bucklers, and Quivers of Arrows, lay huddled amongst the Horses Bits, and through These there appear'd the points of naked Swords, intermix'd with long Spears. All these Arms were ty'd together with such a just liberty, that they knock'd against one another as they were drawn along, and made a harsh and terrible noise, so that the very Spoils of the Conquer'd could not be beheld without dread. After these Waggon loaden with Armour, there follow'd three thousand Men, who carried the Silver that was coin'd, in seven hundred and five Vessels, each of which weigh'd three Talents, and was born by four Men. Others brought Silver Bowls, and Goblets, and Cups, all disposed in such Order as to make the best show, and all valuable, as well for their bigness as the thickness of their engraved Work. On the Third Day early in the morning, first came the Trumpeters, who did not sound as they were wont in a Procession or solemn Entry, but such a Charge as the *Romans* use when they encourage their Soldiers to fight. Next follow'd

young Men girt about with Girdles curiously wrought, which led to the Sacrifice fixscore stall'd Oxen, with their Horns gilded, and their Heads adorn'd with Ribbands, and Garlands, and with These were Boys that carried Platters of Silver and Gold. After This was brought the Gold Coin, which was divided into Vessels, that weigh'd three Talents, like to Those that contain'd the Silver; they were in number fourscore wanting three. These were followed by Those that brought the consecrated Bowl, which *Emilius* had caus'd to be made, that weigh'd ten Talents, and was all beset with precious Stones. Then were expos'd to view the Cups of *Antigonus* and *Seleucus*, and such as were made after the fashion invented by *Tbericles*, and all the Gold Plate that was used at *Perseus* his Table. Next to These came *Perseus* his Chariot, in which his Armour was plac'd, and on That his Diadem. And after a little intermission, the King's Children were led Captives, and with them a Train of Nurses, Masters and Governors, who all wept and stretcht forth their Hands to the Spectators, and taught the little Infants to beg and intreat their Compassion. There were two Sons and a Daughter, who by reason of their tender Age were altogether insensible of the greatness of their Misery, which insensibility of their Condition, rendred it much more deplorable; insomuch that *Perseus* himself was scarce regarded as he went along, whilst Pity had fix'd the Eyes of the *Romans* upon the Infants, and many of them could not forbear Tears; All beheld the Sight with a mixture of Sorrow and Joy, until the Children were past. After his Children and their Attendants, came *Perseus* himself, clad all in black, and wearing Slippers after the fashion of his Country: he look'd like one altogether astonish'd and depriv'd of Reason, through the greatness of his Misfortunes. Next follow'd a great many of his Friends and Familiars, whose Countenances were disfigur'd with Grief, and who testify'd to all that beheld them, by their Tears, and their continual looking upon *Perseus*, that it was His hard Fortune they so much lamented, and

and that they were regardless of their Own. *Perseus* sent to *Emilius*, to intreat that he might not be led in Pomp, but be left out of the Triumph; who deriding (as was but just) his Cowardise and Fondness of Life, sent him this Answer, *That what he demanded was before, and is now in his own Power*; giving him to understand, that this Disgrace was to be prevented by dispatching himself, which the faint-hearted Wretch had not the Courage to do, but being made effeminate by I know not what hopes, had the Misery to see himself in the midst of his own Spoils adorn the Triumph of his Conqueror. After These were carried four hundred Crowns, all made of Gold, and sent from the Cities by their respective Ambassadors to *Emilius*, as a Reward due to his Valour. Then He himself came seated on a Chariot magnificently adorn'd, (a Man worthy to be beheld, even without these Ensigns of Power.) He was clad in a Garment of Purple, interwoven with Gold, and held out a Laurel Branch in his Right Hand. All the Army in like manner with Boughs of Laurel in their Hands, divided into Bands and Companies, followed the Chariot of their Commander; Some singing Odes (according to the usual Custom) mingled with Rallery; Others, Songs of Triumph, and the Praise of *Emilius* his Deeds; who was admir'd and accounted happy by all Men, and unenvy'd by every one that was good: Only it seems to be the Province of some jealous Being, to lessen that Happiness which is too great and inordinate, and so to mingle the Affairs of Human Life, that no one shall be entirely free and exempt from Calamities; but (as it is said in *Homer*) that Those should think themselves truly blessed, to whom Fortune has given an equal share of Good and Evil.

Emilius had four Sons, of which *Scipio* and *Fabius* (as is already related) were adopted into other Families; the other Two, which he had by a second Wife, and were yet but young, he brought up in his own House. One of these died at fourteen years of Age, five days before his Father's Triumph; the Other at twelve, three days

after: So that there was not a *Roman* without a deep sense of his Suffering, and every one dreaded the Cruelty of Fortune, that did not scruple to bring so much Sorrow into a House replenish'd with Happiness, Rejoicing, and Sacrifices, and to intermingle Tears and Complaints, with Songs of Victory and Triumph. But *Emilius* reasoning according to Judgment, consider'd that Courage and Resolution was not only requisite to resist Armour and Spears, but also to withstand all the Shocks of ill Fortune; and so did he adapt and temper the Necessity of his present Circumstances, as to over-balance the Evil with the Good, and his private Concerns with Those of the Publick; that thus they might neither take away from the Grandeur, nor sully the Dignity of his Victory. For, as soon as he had buried the first of his Sons, (as we have already said) he triumph'd; and the second deceasing almost as soon as his Triumph was over, he called an Assembly of the People, and made an Oration to them, not like a Man that stood in need of Comfort from Others, but of one that undertook to support his Fellow-Citizens, who griev'd for the Sufferings He himself underwent.

I (says he) that never yet fear'd any thing merely human, amongst such as are divine, have always had a Dread of Fortune as faithless and unconstant; and on the very account that in this War she had been as a favourable Gale in all my Affairs, I still expected some Change and Tempest. For in one Day (says he) I pass'd the Ionian Sea, and arriv'd from Brundisium at Corcyra; thence in five more I sacrificed at Delphi, and in other five days came up to my Forces in Macedonia; where, after I had finished the usual Sacrifices for the Purifying of the Army, I fell to my design'd Business, and in the space of fifteen days put an honourable Period to the War. But when I still had a Jealousy of Fortune, even from the smooth Current of my Affairs, and saw myself secure and free from the Danger of any Enemy, I chiefly dreaded the change of the Goddess at Sea, whilst through my Success I brought home with me so great and victorious an Army, such vast Spoils,

Spoils, and Kings themselves Captives. Nay more, after I was return'd to you safe, and saw the City full of Joy, Congratulating, and Sacrifices, yet still did I suspect Fortune, as well knowing that she never conferr'd any Benefits that were sincere, and without some Allay. Nor could my Mind (that was still as it were in Labour, and always foreseeing something to befall this City) free itself from this Fear, until so great a Misfortune befell me in my own Family, and that in the midst of those days set apart for Triumph, I carried two of the best of Sons one after another to their Funerals. Now therefore am I myself safe from Danger, at least as to what was my greatest Care; and I trust and am verily persuaded, that for the time to come, Fortune will prove constant and harmless unto you; for she has sufficiently wreck'd her Envy at our great Exploits on Me and Mine; nor is the Conqueror a less famous Example of human Frailty, than the Man he led in Triumph, with this only difference, that Perseus, though conquer'd, does yet enjoy his Children, and the Conqueror Emilius is deprived of His. This is the generous Speech Emilius is said to speak to the People, from a Heart truly sincere, and free from all Artifice.

Although he very much pitied *Perseus* his Condition, and studied to befriend him in what he was able, yet could he procure no other favour than his removal from the common Prison, into a more cleanly and comfortable Place of security, where (it is said) he starved himself to death. Others relate a very particular and unheard-of manner of his dying, That the Soldiers that were his Guard, having conceiv'd a Spite and Hatred against him for some certain Reasons, and finding no other way to grieve and afflict him, kept him from sleep with all diligence, disturb'd him when he was dispos'd to rest, and found out Contrivances to continue him still waking; by which means at length he was quite tired out, and gave up the Ghost. Two of his Children also died soon after him; the third, who was named *Alexander*, (they say) prov'd an exquisite Artist in turning and grav-ing in Miniature, and withal learn'd so perfectly to speak

an write the *Roman Language*, that he became Clerk to the Senate, and behav'd himself in his Office with great Skill and Conduct.

They ascribe to *Emilius's* Conquest in *Macedonia*, this most acceptable Benefit to the People, *viz.* That he brought so vast a quantity of Money into the Publick Treasury, that they never paid any Taxes 'till *Hirtius* and *Pansa* were Consuls, which was in the first Year of the War between *Anthony* and *Cæsar*. There was this peculiar and remarkable in *Emilius*, That though he was extremely belov'd and honour'd by the People, yet he always sided with the Nobles; nor would he either say or do any thing to ingratiate himself with the Vulgar, but constantly adher'd to the Nobility, and Men of the chiefest Rank, in all matters of Government. Which thing in after-times was cast in *Scipio Africanus* his Teeth by *Appius*; for these two were in their time the most considerable Men in the City, and stood in competition for the Office of *Censor*. The One had on his side the Nobles and the Senate, (to which Party the Family of the *Appians* were always true;) the Other, although his own Interest was great, yet he did make use of the Favour and Love of the People. When therefore *Appius* saw *Scipio* come to the *Forum* surrounded with Men of mean Rank, and such as were but newly made free, yet were very fit to manage a Debate, gather together the Rabble, and carry whatsoever they design'd by Importunity and Noise, crying out with a loud Voice; Groan now (says he) O *Paulus Emilius*! If you have knowledge in your Grave of what is done above, that your Son pretends to be *Censor*, by the help of *Emilius* a common Crier, and *Licinnius* a Barreter. As for *Scipio*, he had the good-will of the People, because he was always courting them; but *Emilius*, although he took part with the Nobles, yet was as much the Peoples Darling, as He that sought by little Arts to ingratiate himself with the Multitude: and This they made manifest, when amongst other Dignities, they thought him worthy of the Office of *Censor*, a Trust accounted most sacred,

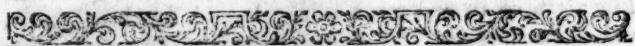
sacred, and of very great Authority, as well in other things as in the strict Examination into Mens Lives : For the *Censors* had Power to expel a Senator, and inroll whom they judg'd most fit in his room, and to disgrace such young Men as liv'd licentiously, by taking away their Horses. Besides this, they were to value and censure each Man's Estate, and register the number of the People : There were numbred by *Emilius* thirty three Million seven Thousand four Hundred and fifty two Men. He declar'd *Marcus Emilius Lepidus* Prince of the Senate, who had already four times arrived at that Honour, and remov'd from their Office only three Senators of the least Note. The same Moderation he and his Fellow *Censor*, *Marcus Philippus*, us'd at the Muster of the Roman Knights.

Whilst he was thus busy about many and weighty Affairs, he fell sick of a Disease, which at first seem'd hazardous ; and although after a while it prov'd without Danger, yet was it very troublesome and difficult to be cur'd ; so that by the Advice of his Physicians he sail'd to *Velia*, a Town in *Italy*, and there dwelt a long time near the Sea, where he enjoy'd all possible Quietness. The *Romans* in the mean-while long'd for his Return, and oftentimes by their Speeches in the Theatres, gave publick Testimonies of their great Desires and Impatience to see him. When therefore the time drew nigh, that a solemn Sacrifice was of necessity to be offered, and he found, as he thought, his Body strong enough, he came back again to *Rome*, and there perform'd the Holy Rites with the rest of the Priests, the People in the mean time crowding about him, and congratulating his Return. The next day he sacrific'd again to the Gods for his Recovery ; and having finish'd the Rites, return'd to his House, and went to Bed ; when all on a sudden, and before any Change cou'd be perceiv'd in him, he fell into a raging Fit, and being quite depriv'd of his Senses, the third day after ended his Life, in which he had wanted no manner of thing, which is thought conducive to human Happiness. His Funeral
also

also was attended with the most solemn and surprising Pomp, and his Virtue grac'd with the best and happiest Obsequies; not such as consisted in Gold and Ivory, or the like sumptuous and splendid Preparations, but in the good-will, honour and love, not only of his Fellow-Citizens, but even of his Enemies. For as many of the *Spaniards*, *Ligurians* and *Macedonians* as happen'd to be then at *Rome*, and were young and lusty, help'd to carry the Bier, whilst the aged followed, calling *Emilius* their Benefactor and the Preserver of their Countries. He did indeed not only in the time of his Victories treat all with kindness and clemency, but continu'd all the rest of his Life still to serve and oblige them, as if they had been his intimate Friends and Relations. They say his whole Estate scarce amounted to

(1) In English Money 11947 l. 18 s. 4 d.

(1) three hundred and seventy thousand Drachmas, which he left between his two Sons; but *Scipio* the younger, who was adopted into the richer Family of *Africanus*, gave it all to his Brother. This Account we have of the Life and Character of *Paulus Emilius*.



The Comparison of TIMOLEON with P. EMILIUS.

IF we consider these two Heroes, as Historians have represented them to us, very little difference will be found between 'em in the Comparison. They made War with two Powerful Enemies: The One against the *Macedonians*, and the Other against the *Carthaginians*, and the Success of Both was equally glorious. One of them conquer'd *Macedon*, and subverted the Structure of *Antigonus* his Fortune and Family, which had flourish'd down from him in an uninterrupted Succession of seven Kings, the Other expell'd Tyranny out of

of *Sicily*, and restor'd that Island to its ancient Liberty. Unless it be urg'd in Favour of *Emilius*, that He engag'd with *Perseus*, when his Forces were entire, and compos'd of such Men as had often fought with Success against the *Romans*: Whereas *Timoleon* found *Dionysius* in a despairing Condition, his Affairs being reduc'd to the last Extremity. On the other hand, This may be said in Favour of *Timoleon*, That he vanquish'd several Tyrants and a Powerful *Carthaginian* Army, with an inconsiderable number of Men gather'd together from all parts: Not with such an Army as *Emilius* had, of well-disciplin'd Soldiers, experienc'd in War, and accusom'd to obey; but such as through the hopes of Gain resorted to him, unskill'd in Fighting and ungovernable. And when Actions are equally glorious, and the Means to compass them unequal, the greatest Esteem is certainly due to that General, who conquers with the smaller Power.

Both had the Reputation of behaving themselves with an uncorrupted Integrity, in all Affairs they manag'd: But *Emilius* had the advantage of being from his Infancy, by the Laws and Customs of his Country, train'd up to the well management of publick Affairs, which *Timoleon* wanted, but by use brought himself to. And this is plain; for at that time all the *Romans* were educated with the greatest Modesty and Temperance, and taught a Reverence for, and an inviolable Observance to the Laws of their Country; Whereas 'tis remarkable, that not one of the *Grecian* Generals commanding in *Sicily*, cou'd keep himself uncorrupted, except *Dion*, and of Him they entertain'd a Jealousy, that he wou'd establish a Monarchy there, after the *Lacedæmonian* manner. *Timæus* writes, that the *Syracusians* sent *Gylippus* home loaden with Infamy, for his unsatiable Covetousness, and the many Bribes he took when he commanded the Army. Divers Historians mention, that *Pbarax* the *Spartan*, and *Calippus* the *Albenian*, committed several wicked and treacherous Acts, designing to make themselves Kings of *Sicily*. But what were these Men, and what strength had they to nourish so vain a Thought? For the First of them

them was a Follower of *Dionysius*, when he was expell'd *Syracuse*, and the Other a hired Captain of Foot under *Dion*, and came into *Sicily* with him.

But *Timoleon*, at the Request and Prayers of the *Syracusians*, was sent to be their General, not seeking for the Command, but when plac'd in his hands, manag'd it to the best advantage; and no sooner had restor'd *Sicily* to her Liberty, but he willingly resign'd his Charge.

This is truly worthy our Admiration in *Emilius*, That tho' he conquer'd so great and rich a Realm, as that of *Macedon*, yet he would not touch, nor see any of the Money, nor did he advantage himself one farthing by it, though he was very generous of his own to others——

This is not mention'd to reflect on *Timoleon*, for accepting of a fair House and handsom Estate in the Country, with which the *Syracusians* had presented him; for on that occasion it was not dishonest to receive 'em: But yet there is greater Glory in a Refusal; and that is the supremeest Virtue, which lets the Praise of good Men be the Reward of its Actions, and refuses all Gifts, how well soever it may have deserved them. And as that Body is, without doubt, the most strong and healthful, which can the easiest support extreme Cold and excessive Heat, in the Change of Seasons; and That the most firm and collected Mind, which is not puff'd up with Prosperity, nor dejected in Adversity: So the Virtue of *Emilius* was eminently seen, in that his Countenance and Carriage was the same upon the Loss of two beloved Sons, as when he achiev'd his greatest Victories and Triumphs. But *Timoleon*, after he had justly punished his Brother, a truly heroick Action, let his Reason yield to a causeless Sorrow, and, dejected with Grief and Remorse, he forbore for twenty years together to appear in any publick place, or meddle with any Affairs of the Commonwealth. 'Tis truly very commendable to abhor and shun the doing of any base Action; but to stand in fear of the Peoples Censure, or common Talk, may argue a harmless and peaceable Mind, but never a brave and truly heroick Soul.



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CATO the Elder one day hearing some Persons extol a Man that had shewn a thoughtless Temerity in Battle, and ran headlong into the greatest Dangers without Consideration, said, *there was a great deal of difference between having an Esteem for Valour, and a Contempt for Life*; a Saying full of Wisdom and Truth. 'Tis related that there was in King Antigonus's Army a Soldier of a very unhealthy Complexion, who however distinguish'd himself on all occasions by an uncommon Boldness and Intrepidity; which made the King take notice of him, and ask him the Cause of his pale and sickly Look; and learning from him that it was owing to a secret Disease he had, gave strict Order to his Physicians to take all possible Care of him, and to spare neither Cost nor Pains for his Cure. In a short time this bold Fellow was cur'd; after which he never appear'd so fond of Danger, nor daring in Battle; infomuch

inſomuch that the King, being very much ſurpris'd at ſuch a Change, reproach'd him with it : but the Soldier, far from concealing the true Reaſon, ſaid, *Sir, You only are the Cauſe that I am leſs bold and deſperate than heretofore, by delivering me from that Miſery which made Life a Burden to me.* And to this purpoſe is the Saying of a certain Sybarite concerning the Spartans, *that it was no great matter if They were forward to expoſe themſelves in Battle, and ſeem'd to court Death, which was a Deliverance to Them from all the Hardſhips and Severities they ſuffer'd in Life.* But 'tis no wonder at all that ſo effeminate a Race of People as the Sybarites, weaken'd, and, as it were, diſſolv'd in Luxury and Pleaſure, ſhou'd imagine that They who deſpis'd Death, did it not out of a Love of Virtue and Honour, but from a Wearineſs and Abhorrence of Life. But the *Lacedæmonians* were of a different Opinion ; They thought that the whole Benefit and Advantage either of Life or Death conſiſted in living virtuously, and dying honourably ; according to the old Epitaph.

*They dy'd, but not as lawiſh of their Blood,
Or thinking Death itſelf was ſimply good.
Both Life and Death the ſtricteſt Virtue try'd,
And as That call'd they gladly liv'd, or dy'd.*

For neither is an endeavour to avoid Death blameable, when Life may be deſir'd without ſhame or diſhonour ; not is there any Virtue in ſuffering Death with Conſtancy and Reſolution, when it preceeds only from an Averſion to Life. Hence it is that *Homer* repreſents his braveſt and ſtoutest Warriors going to Battle very well arm'd ; and the *Grecian* Legislators puniſh'd any one that threw away his Shield, and yet excus'd the loſs of a Sword or Spear ; intimating thereby, that a Man's care in preſerving himſelf is preferable to his hurting the Enemy, eſpecially in a Governor of any Place, or a General. And indeed, to make uſe of *Ipbicrates's* Compariſon, if we compare the light-arm'd Infantry to the Hands,

Hands, the Cavalry to the Feet, the main Body to the Breast, and the General to the Head, that General who suffers himself to be carried too far by his martial Ardor, and exposes himself to unnecessary Dangers, does not only risk and hazard his own Person, but the Lives of all Those, whose Safety depends on Him. And therefore *Callicratides*, tho' in other respects a great Man, did not answer the Augur well, who besought him to to be cautious and regardful of his own Safety, because the Entrails of the Victim boded ill to him, and threaten'd his Life; *Sparta*, said he, *is not bound up in one Man*. 'Tis true indeed, that *Callicratides*, fighting under the Command of another Person, whether by Sea or Land, was no more than one Man; but being General of an Army, he seem'd to contain in himself the whole Strength and Power of all Those that were under his Command; so that He, on whose Life alone the Safety of so many Thousands depended, was no longer a single Person.

The Answer of old *Antigonus*, just before a great Sea-Fight near the Island of *Andros*, to One who told him that the Enemy was far superior to him in number of Ships, was much better; *For how many then*, said he, *dost thou reckon Me?* thereby laying a proper stress upon the Importance of a chief Commander, when that Dignity is accompanied with Experience and Valour, whose first and principal Care it ought to be, to save Him, who is the Safety and Security of all the Rest.

On this account we ought to admire what *Timotheus* said one day, when *Chares* was shewing the *Athenians* the Wounds he had receiv'd while he was their General, and his Shield pierc'd by a Spear; *As for my part*, said he, *when I besieg'd Samos, seeing an Arrow fall very near me, how much was I asham'd for having needlessly expos'd myself like a rash young Fellow, and further than became the Commander of so great an Army!* But where Success in a great measure depends on the General's exposing himself, in such a case he ought to play the Man, and push on at all Adventures without any Regard to his

Person, or their Maxims, who say that a General ought to die of Age, or at least an old Man : But where the Advantage of his Victory will be of no great Importance, and the Consequence of his Fall will be utter Ruin, nobody would desire him to perform the part of a common Soldier, which may be attended with the loss of the General.

This is what I judg'd proper to premise before the Lives of *Pelopidas* and *Marcellus*, who were Both great Men, but Both perish'd by their Rashness : For being very brave and daring, and having done Honour to their Country by their glorious Exploits, perform'd against very formidable Enemies, (the One having vanquish'd *Hannibal*, 'till then invincible ; and the Other defeated the *Lacedæmonians*, that were Masters both at Sea and Land, in a pitch'd Battle,) they ventur'd too far, and inconsiderately threw away their Lives, when their Countries stood most in need of such valiant Men, and such brave Commanders. And therefore from the Similitude there was between them we have drawn their Parallel.

Pelopidas, the Son of *Hippoclus*, was descended, as *Epaminondas* likewise was, from one of the most illustrious Families in *Thebes*. He was brought up from his Infancy in Plenty and Opulence, and coming early to the possession of a great Estate, made it his business to relieve and assist such as were poor and indigent, but yet worthy and deserving ; that he might make it appear he was truly the Master of, and not a Slave to, his Riches. For among Mankind, as *Aristotle* says, Some through Avarice make no use at all of their Wealth, while Others abuse it to Debauchery and Excess ; These live perpetual Slaves to their Pleasures, the Others to Care and Business. All the *Thebans*, except *Epaminondas*, made use of *Pelopidas*'s Generosity, and thankfully receiv'd his Favours ; but he cou'd never prevail with Him to accept his Presents, or partake of his Abundance ; and finding it the easier Task, he condescended to stoop to His Poverty ; and, after His Example, took a Pleasure

sure in ordinary Apparel, a frugal Table, unwearied Labour, and in appearing plain and open in the highest Posts and Employments ; like *Capaneus* in *Euripides*, who possessing vast Wealth, was no way elated by it ; so that he thought it a shame to spend more upon Himself, than the poorest *Theban*.

As for *Epaminondas*, Poverty was grown familiar to Him by being hereditary ; but yet he made it more light and easy by Philosophy, and by choosing from the beginning a plain simple Life, that was all of a piece. But *Pelopidas* married into a good Family, and had a great many Children ; yet, notwithstanding the increase of his Expences, still forgetful of the main Chance, and bestowing all his Time upon the Publick, he at last very much impaired his Estate. And when some of his Friends one day represented it to him, and told him, *that Money which he neglected was a very necessary Thing : Very necessary truly*, reply'd he, *but 'tis for Nicodemus there* ; pointing to a Man of that Name, that was both lame and blind. *Epaminondas* and He were both born with the same Dispositions to all kind of Virtues, but *Pelopidas* took more pleasure in the Exercises of the Body, and *Epaminondas* in the Improvement of the Mind ; so that they spent all their leisure time, the One in Hunting, and the *Palestra*, the Other in learned Conversation and the study of Philosophy. But of all the famous Actions for which they are so much celebrated, the judicious part of mankind reckon none so great and glorious as that strict Friendship which they inviolably preserv'd through the whole course of their Lives, in all the high Posts they held, both military and civil. For whoever considers the Behaviour of *Aristides* and *Themistocles*, of *Cimon* and *Pericles*, of *Nicias* and *Alcibiades*, during their Administration of Affairs, and considers the Dissension, Jealousy, and Envy that alwayys reign'd between 'em ; and then reviews that Harmony and Affection, that Honour and Respect which *Pelopidas* and *Epaminondas* constantly had, and express'd for each other ; must confess that these two great Men more truly deserved to be

styl'd Companions and Brothers in Government and Command, than those Others, whose personal Enmity exceeded even That they bore the Enemies of their Country, making it the Business of their whole Lives to supplant and ruin one another. The true and only cause of this excellent Conduct was their Virtue, which kept them, in all their Actions, from aiming at Wealth and Glory, which fatal Contentions are always attended by Envy ; but being both equally inflam'd with a divine Ardour to make their Country prosperous and happy by their Administration, they look'd upon each other's Success as their Own.

Most Authors indeed write that their Friendship did not begin 'till the Battle of *Mantineæ*, when the *Thebans* sent Succours to the *Lacedæmonians*, who were at that time their Friends and Allies. For being Both in that Battle, near one another, in the Infantry, and fighting against the *Arcadians*, that Wing of the *Lacedæmonians* in which they were, gave way and was broken ; which *Pelopidas* and *Epaminondas* perceiving, they join'd their Shields, and keeping close together, bravely repuls'd all that attack'd 'em ; 'till at last *Pelopidas*, after receiving seven large Wounds, fell upon a heap of Friends and Enemies that lay dead together. *Epaminondas*, tho' he believ'd him slain, advanc'd before him to defend his Body and Arms, and for a long time maintain'd his Ground against great numbers of the *Arcadians*, being resolv'd to die rather than desert his Companion, and leave him in the Enemy's Power ; but being wounded in his Breast by a Spear, and in his Arm by a Sword, he was quite disabled and ready to fall, when *Agésilus*, King of the *Spartans*, came from the other Wing to his Relief, and, beyond all Expectation, saved both their Lives.

After this Battle the *Lacedæmonians* carried it very fair towards the *Thebans*, in all outward appearance, as good Friends and Allies, but were in reality jealous of the growing Power and Grandeur of their City. But above all, they had conceiv'd a particular and implacable Hatred against *Ismenius* and *Androclides's* Party, in which *Pelopi-*
das

das was an Associate, looking upon 'em as too popular, and too great Friends to Liberty. *Archias*, *Leontidas* and *Philip*, who were the Heads of the Party that oppos'd *Ismenius*, all Three very rich, immoderately ambitious, and violently bent upon an Oligarchical Government, having discover'd how the *Lacedæmonians* stood inclin'd, propos'd to *Phæbidas*, who was marching by *Thebes* with a Body of Troops, to seize the Castle call'd *Cadmæa*, to drive away All of the opposite Party, to make it subject to the *Lacedæmonians*, and to put the Government into the Hands of the Nobility.

Phæbidas approv'd their Proposal, and during the Festival of *Ceres*, when the *Thebans* little expected any Act of Hostility, put his Design in Execution, and made himself Master of the Castle. *Ismenius* was taken and carried away to *Lacedæmon*, where he was in a short time murder'd; but *Pelopidas*, *Pherenicus*, *Androclides*, and many more that fled, were sentenc'd to perpetual Banishment. As for *Epaminondas*, he remain'd at *Thebes* unmolested, and disregarded, as a Man whom Philosophy had made unactive and disinclin'd to attempt, and whom Poverty render'd unable to prosecute any great Undertaking.

When an Account was brought to *Lacedæmon* of what *Phæbidas* had done, he was depriv'd of his Command, and fin'd a hundred thousand Drachmas; but they still kept possession of *Cadmæa*, and continued a Garrison in it.

All the other Parts of *Greece* were greatly surpris'd at this ridiculous Inconsistency, to authorize and confirm an Action, and yet at the same time punish the Actor. The *Thebans* having thus lost their ancient Form of Government, and being enslav'd by *Archias* and *Leontidas*, saw no means nor hopes of being freed from a Tyranny, which was supported by the *Lacedæmonians*, nor a possibility of breaking the Yoke, but by such a Power as was sufficient to beat them from their Command both by Sea and Land.

In the mean time, *Leontidas*, being inform'd that the Exiles had retir'd to *Athens*, where they were kindly receiv'd by the People, and honour'd by all good Men, form'd secret Designs against their Lives, by means of certain unknown Bravos whom he sent thither. *Androclides* fell by their Hands, but all the rest escap'd.

At the same time the *Athenians* receiv'd Letters from *Sparta*, warning them neither to receive nor cherish the Exiles, but expel them as Persons who had been declar'd common Enemies to *Greece* by all the Allies. But the *Athenians*, besides their natural Inclination to Humanity, thought themselves obliged to make a grateful acknowledgment and return to the *Thebans*, who had very much assisted them in restoring their Democracy, and publicly enacted, that if any *Athenian* shou'd march armed against the Tyrants through *Bæotia*, it shou'd be done without any notice taken of it, or stop put to it, by any *Bæotian* whatever; the *Athenians*, I say, moved by these Considerations, attempted nothing at all against the *Thebans*.

Pelopidas, tho' very young at that time, privately excited each single Exile, and often told them at their Meetings, that it was both dishonourable and impious to neglect their enslav'd and ingarrison'd Country, and lazily contented with their own lives and safety depend on the Decrees of the *Athenians*, and fawn for fear on every smooth-tongued Orator, that knows how to cajole the People. No: they must venture All, taking *Thrasibulus* his Courage for Example; for as He advanced from *Thebes*, and broke the Power of the Tyrants in *Athens*, so shou'd They march from *Athens*, and free *Thebes*. When he had perswaded them by this Discourse, they sent secretly to *Thebes*, to acquaint their Friends there with their Designs, which were highly approv'd of, and *Charon* a Person of the greatest Quality in the City offer'd his House for their Reception. *Philidas* had found means to be made Secretary to *Archias* and *Philip*, who were then Captains of the Militia; and as for *Epaminondas*, he had taken pains all along to inspire the Youth with a daring

daring Courage and Magnanimity: For at their Exercises he always advis'd them to challenge and wrestle with the *Spartans*, and when he saw them pleas'd and elated for having thrown, and gotten the better of 'em, he told them, *that they ought rather to be asham'd to be such Cowards, as to be enslav'd to Those, whom in strength they so much excelled.*

The Day for Action being set, it was agreed upon by the Exiles that *Phenericus* with the rest should stay at *Tbriassum*, and some few of the younger Men try the first Danger by endeavouring to get into the City, and if they were surpris'd by their Enemies the Others shou'd take care to provide for their Families. *Pelopidas* was the first that offer'd himself for this Undertaking, and after him *Melon*, *Damocles* and *Theopompus*; all of 'em Persons of the best Families in *Thebes*, intimate and faithful Friends in all things else, but Rivals in Honour and Glory. They were in all twelve, and having taken leave of their Companions that stay'd behind at *Tbriassum*, and dispatch'd a Messenger to advertise *Charon* of their coming, they set forward, meanly clad, and carrying with 'em Hounds and hunting Poles; that whoever met them on the Road might suspect nothing at all, but take 'em for Hunters straggling about in search or pursuit of their Game.

When their Messenger arriv'd at *Thebes*, and had given *Charon* an account of their being upon the Road, the approach of Danger did not make him change his Mind; but like a Man of Probity and Honour, he stood to his Promise, and made Preparations to receive 'em.

Among Those who were privy to this Design, there was one *Hipposthenides*, who was no ill Man, but lov'd his Country, and wou'd with all his Heart have done the Exiles any manner of Service; but he wanted that Fortitude and Firmness of Resolution which the present Exigency and the nature of such an Affair requir'd. This Man reflecting on the Greatness of the Danger in which they were going to embark, and not able to comprehend how

how by the weak assistance of a few indigent Exiles they shou'd be strong enough to shake the *Spartan* Government, and free themselves from that Power, grew giddy as it were with the Reflection ; and unable to clear up all those Difficulties and Obstacles that presented themselves in crowds to his Imagination, went privately to his own House, and dispatched a Friend to *Melon* and *Pelopidas*, desiring them to defer their Enterprize for the present, to return to *Athens*, and wait there 'till a more favourable opportunity shou'd offer.

This Messenger's Name was *Clidon*, who going home in all haste, and bringing his Horse out of the Stable, commanded his Wife to bring him the Bridle ; but she being at a loss, and not knowing where to find it, said, she had lent it to a Neighbour : *Clidon* upon this fell into a Passion, from whence they soon proceeded to reproachful Language, and after that to direful Imprecations, his Wife cursing him bitterly, and praying that his Journey might prove fatal to Himself, and Those that sent him. *Clidon's* Passion transported him so far, that he spent most of the day in this squabble, and looking upon what had happen'd as an ill Omen laid aside all thoughts of his Journey, and went elsewhere. So near were these great and glorious Designs of miscarrying in the very Birth. But *Pelopidas* and his Associates dressing themselves like Peasants, divided, and whilst it was yet day enter'd at several Quarters of the City ; besides, it was the beginning of Winter, and the Snow fell, which contributed much to their Concealment, because most of the Citizens kept within Doors to avoid the Inclemency of the Weather. But They that were in the Secret receiv'd 'em as they came, and conducted 'em forthwith to *Charon's* House ; all of 'em together, Exiles and Others, making up forty eight in number.

As for the Tyrants, their Affairs stood thus ; *Philiidas*, their Secretary, was, as I said before, an Accomplish'd, privy to the whole Affair, and very forward to promote it. He had some time before promis'd *Archias* and his-Friends an Entertainment at his House that very Day,

Day, and to provide some of the finest Ladies of Pleasure in the Town to give them the Meeting. This he did with a view, that when they were enfeebled by Lewdness and Excess, they might fall a more easy Sacrifice to Those who had conspir'd, by their Fall, the deliverance of their Country.

While they were at Table, beginning to relish their Wine, and growing very chearful, a Rumour was spread among 'em, no body knew how, which, tho' not false, seem'd uncertain, and confirm'd by no Circumstance, that the Exiles lay somewhere conceal'd in the City. *Philidas* did what he cou'd to divert the Discourse; but *Archieus* sent an Officer to *Charon* to command his immediate Attendance. By this time it was growing dark, so that *Pelopidas* and his Friends were preparing for Action, having their Armour on already, and their Swords girt: when on a sudden a great knocking was heard at the Door, whereupon one stepping forth to know the meaning of it, and learning from the Officer that he was come with an Order to carry *Charon* to *Archieus*, he return'd in great Haste and Confusion, to give them an account of this terrible News. Every one at first believ'd that the whole Plot was discover'd, and that they shou'd be all destroy'd, without being able to perform any Exploit, worthy Men of their undaunted Bravery and Resolution. However they were unanimous in their Opinion that *Charon* shou'd obey the Order, and appear boldly before the Tyrants, as no way terrify'd or conscious of any Guilt.

Charon was a resolute brave Man, unmov'd at any Danger that threaten'd Himself, but full of Concern for the Safety of his Friends; and apprehending that the World might censure him, and suspect him of Treachery in case so many valiant Citizens as he had receiv'd into his House shou'd happen to miscarry, when he was just ready to depart, he went into the Womens Apartment, and brought out his only Son, who was a Youth indeed, but for Beauty and Strength superior to any of his Age, and with these Words deliver'd him to *Pelopidas*,

das, If you find Me a Traitor use this Boy as an Enemy, and be cruel in the Execution.

This Concernment, and Affection of Charon, drew Tears from Many ; but extremely troubled All, that he shou'd think any one among 'em cou'd be guilty of such Baseness or Cowardise at the approach of Danger, as either to suspect or blame his Conduct ; and most earnestly besought him not to leave his Son with Them, but to remove him somewhere to a place of Safety ; that so he might one day revenge his Friends and Country, if he was so happy as to escape the Tyrants Fury. But Charon absolutely refus'd to remove him, saying, *What Life, what Safety can be more honourable, than to die bravely with his Father, and such generous Friends and Companions ?* Then imploring the Protection of the Gods, and saluting, and encouraging them All, he left them, and departed.

On the Way, as he went along, he endeavour'd to recover himself, and so to compose his Countenance and Voice, that he might not appear to be what he really was. When he was come to the Door of the House where the Entertainment was given, Archias and Philidas went out to him, and said, *What Persons are these, Charon, that are lately come to Town, as we are inform'd, and are conceal'd and countenanc'd by some of our Citizens ?* Charon was at first in a little Disorder, but recovering himself quickly, he ask'd them, *who these Persons, they spoke of, were, and by whom harbour'd ;* and perceiving by Archias's Answer that he had no certain or particular knowledge of the Matter, concluded, that his Information cou'd not come from any Body that was privy to the Design, and therefore said to 'em, *'Tis possible this may be only a false Alarm, contriv'd on purpose to interrupt your Mirth ; however I'll make the best enquiry I can, and be upon my Guard ; for nothing of this kind ought to be neglected.* Philidas commended his Prudence ; and bringing Archias back to the Company, drank him up to a high Pitch ; and prolonged the Entertainment,

tainment, by keeping 'em still in Expectation of seeing the Ladies.

Charon, at his return home, finding his Friends not in Expectation of Safety and Success, but as Men resolv'd, after being reveng'd on their Enemies, to die with Firmness and Intrepidity, told *Pelopidas* the plain Truth, but conceal'd it from the rest, inventing several Things, which, he pretended, *Archias* had discours'd him about.

This Storm was scarce blown over before Fortune rais'd Another ; for almost at the very same time arriv'd an Express, sent from *Archias* the High-Priest of *Athens* to his Name-sake *Archias* of *Thebes*, who was his Friend and Guest : The Letters he brought did not contain an uncertain Rumour, founded only on Surmises and Suspicions, but as appeared afterwards, a full and particular Account of the whole Conspiracy in all its Parts and Circumstances. When the Courier was brought to *Archias*, who was by this time pretty well warm'd with Liquor, as he deliver'd his Letters to him, he said, *Sir, the Person that wrote these Letters conjures You to read them forthwith, for they contain Business of great Importance.* But *Archias* taking the Letters, said, smiling, *Business to-morrow* ; and laying them down by him, resum'd his former Conversation with *Philidas*.

Those Words, *Business to-morrow*, grew into a Proverb, and continue so to this Day among the *Greeks*.

Now when every thing was ripe for Action, the Conspirators issued out, and divided themselves into two Bodies ; One under the Command of *Pelopidas* and *Democles* march'd against *Leontidas* and *Hypates*, who were Neighbours ; and the Other, led by *Charon* and *Melon*, went to attack *Archias* and *Philip*. These put Womens Clothes over their Armour, and Pine and Poplar about their Heads to shade their Faces. As soon as they appear'd at the Door where the Guests were, they all began to huzza, and clap aloud for Joy, believing 'em
to

to be the Women they had so long expected. But when the Conspirators had look'd round the Room, and diligently observ'd the whole Company, they drew their Swords, and made at *Archias* and *Philip* across the Table, which soon discover'd who they were. *Philidas* prevail'd with a few of his Guests to sit still, promising them Security from all harm; but the rest that rose up to defend themselves, and assist their Chiefs, being disorder'd with Wine, were easily dispatch'd.

But *Pelopidas* and his Party met with a more difficult Task; for They were obliged to encounter a sober and valiant Man. When they came to his House, they found the Doors shut, he being already gone to Bed; there they knock'd a long time before any Body answer'd; but at last a Servant that heard them, came down to open the Door; but he had scarce unbolted, and not half open'd it, when rushing All together, they forc'd it wide open, overturn'd the Man, and ran as fast as they cou'd up Stairs to *Leontidas*'s Chamber. *Leontidas* hearing the Noise, suspected the matter, and leaping from his Bed seiz'd his Sword; but forgot to put out his Lights, which, had he done, might have been the Occasion of their falling foul on one another in the Dark, and so He himself might have escap'd. But tho' he had the disadvantage of being easily seen by reason of the Light, he receiv'd them at his Chamber Door, and stabb'd *Cephisodorus*, who was the first Man that attempted to enter. The next that he encounter'd was *Pelopidas*; but the Passage being narrow, and *Cephisodorus*'s dead Body lying in the way, the Dispute was long and difficult; however at last *Pelopidas* overpower'd him, and kill'd him. From thence they went all together to find out *Hypates*, and got into his House after the very same manner: But He, alarm'd at the Noise, made his Escape into a Neighbour's House, whither they closely follow'd and kill'd him.

Having happily finish'd this great Affair, they all march'd to join *Melon*, and sent to hasten the Exiles they had left at *Attica*, proclaiming Liberty to all the

Thebans.

Thebans. They likewise took down the Spoils that hung over the Portico's, and breaking open the Goldsmiths and Sword-Cutlers Shops, arm'd all Those that came to their Assistance : *Epaminondas* and *Gorgidas* having gather'd together and arm'd a large Body of young Men, and some old ones of the best sort, came in, and join'd them.

The whole City was by this time fill'd with Terror and Confusion, the Houses full of Lights, and the Streets of People running to and fro : Yet they did not gather together in a Body, but being amaz'd at what had happen'd, and knowing nothing at all, for a certainty, waited impatiently for the Day. Therefore the *Spartan* Officers were undoubtedly guilty of a great Oversight, for that they did not fall upon 'em while this Confusion lasted ; for the Garrison at that time consisted of fifteen hundred Men, besides which many of the People were still on their side ; but being in a kind of Consternation at the Outcries, numerous Lights, and confus'd hurry of the People, they did not move at all but contented themselves with preserving the Castle.

As soon as Day appear'd the Exiles from *Attica* came in armed, and there was a general Assembly of the People. *Epaminondas* and *Gorgidas* brought forth *Pelopidas* and his Party, encompassed by the Priest, carrying Garlands in their Hands, and exhorting the People to fight for their Gods and their Country. The whole Assembly, excited at this Appearance, rose up, and with Shouts and Acclamations receiv'd the Men as their Benefactors and Deliverers. Then *Pelopidas* being appointed Governor of *Bœotia*, together with *Melon* and *Charon*, block'd up, and attack'd the Castle, thinking it of great Importance to drive out the *Lacedæmonians*, and get possession of it, before any Succours cou'd arrive from *Sparta* : and indeed he was beforehand with them but a very little while ; for the *Lacedæmonians* had scarce surrender'd the Place, and were, according to the Capitulation, returning home, when they met *Cleombrotus* at *Megara*,

marching towards *Thebes* with a powerful Army. The *Spartans* call'd the three chief Commanders, who sign'd that Capitulation, to an Account; *Hermippides* and *Arcissus* were executed for it, and *Dysaoridas* the Third was fin'd so severely, that being unable to pay it, he was forc'd to fly his Country.

This Action being so like that of *Thrasylbulus*, whether we consider the Courage of the Actors, or the Difficulties that were to be surmounted, and the Success that attended it, was for that Reason call'd its Sister by the *Greeks*. For it wou'd be difficult to give another Instance of Persons of themselves weak and few in Number, who by their bold, daring, and personal Bravery, overcame so strong a Power and Opposition, or procur'd greater Blessings to their Country: But this Action was render'd still more glorious and remarkable by that change of Affairs which follow'd upon it. For that War, which humbled the Pride of *Sparta*, and spoil'd 'em of their Empire both by Sea and Land, was the effect of that Night's Work, when *Pelopidas*, without taking Castle, Fortification, or Town, but only making the twelfth Man that enter'd a private House, loosen'd and broke to pieces (if we may express Truth by a Metaphor) the Chains of the *Spartan* Government, 'till then thought firm and indissoluble.

Not long after This the *Lacedæmonians* enter'd *Bæotia* with a powerful Army, which so terrify'd the *Athenians*, that they renounc'd all Treaties and Alliances with the *Thebans*, and imprison'd All that continued in their Interest; Some they put to Death, Others they banish'd, and Those that were the richest they fin'd severely. Thus the Affairs of *Thebes*, without either Friend or Ally, seem'd at that time to be in a very desperate Condition. But *Pelopidas* and *Gorgidas* being then Governors of *Bæotia*, consulted together how to breed a Quarrel between the *Athenians* and *Spartans*; and This was their Contrivance: There was a certain *Spartan* nam'd *Sphodrias*, who was in reality a Man of Courage, but of no sound Judgment, and therefore easily drawn

into

into any Projects, how airy soever, if they fell in with his Ambition. This Man had been left at *Theſſia* with a Body of Troops to receive and protect ſuch *Bæotians* as ſhou'd deſert the Intereſt of their Country and go over to the *Spartans*. To him *Pelopidas* and *Gorgidas* ſent Money ſecretly by a Merchant that was his Friend, and at the ſame time ſuch Advice as was moſt proper to flatter his Vanity, and wou'd be more perſuaſive than Money, *viz.* That it became a Man of his Worth to enter on ſome noble Enterprize, and making a ſudden Incurſion on the unprovided Athenians ſurpriſe the *Piræum*; that nothing cou'd be ſo agreeable to the *Spartans*, as to be Maſters of Athens; and that the *Thebans* hating the Athenians, as they now did, looking upon them as Traitors and falſe Brethren, wou'd be ſure to give them no manner of Aſſiſtance.

Perſuaded by theſe fine Words, *Spbodrias* march'd with his Army by Night, and enter'd *Attica* in a hoſtile manner; but by that time he was advanc'd as far as *Eleuſina*, his Soldiers Hearts began to fail, and his Deſign was diſcover'd; whereupon he thought fit to return to *Theſſia*, after having, by this unadvis'd Action, brought upon the *Lacedæmonians* a long and dangerous War: For immediately upon This, the *Athenians* courted a new Alliance with the *Thebans*, and aſſiſted them with all their Power, and fitting out a large Squadron ſail'd to ſeveral Places, receiving and engaging all the *Greeks* that were inclin'd to ſhake off the *Spartan* Yoke.

In the mean time, the *Thebans* having frequent Skirmiſhes with the *Spartans* in *Bæotia*, and fighting ſome Battles (not great indeed, but fit to train them up, and inſtruct them) their Minds were raiſed, and their Bodies inured to Labour, and they got both Experience and Courage by thoſe frequent Encounters. Inſomuch that *Antalcides* is reported to have ſaid very pertinently to *Agelaus*, when he was brought home wounded from *Bæotia*, *You are now paid, Sir, for the Apprenticeship you have made the Thebans ſerve, teaching them the Art of War*

against their Wills. Tho' to speak properly, *Agessilaus* was not their Master, but Those wise Commanders who led 'em with Prudence to Battle, and when they saw a fit opportunity, let 'em loose, like stanch Hounds, upon the Enemy; and when they had tasted the Sweetness of Victory, by which their Appetites were sharpen'd, took 'em off again, pleas'd with their Eagerness and Spirit: But of all those Leaders *Pelopidas* deserves most Honour on this account, for from the time of his being first chosen Captain-General, 'till his Death, he was never one Year out of Employment, but was constantly either Captain of the Sacred Band, or Governor of *Bœotia*. And those were the times, in which the *Spartans* were defeated and entirely routed at *Platea* and *Thebspia*; where *Phœbidas*, that had surpris'd the *Cadmea*, was kill'd; and at *Tenagra*, where *Pelopidas* slew their chief Commander, whose Name was *Pantoboides*, with his own Hand. But this series of Success, tho' it serv'd to animate and encourage the Victors, did not quite dispirit and dishearten the Vanquish'd: For there was no regular fighting or pitch'd Battle, but now and then a seasonable Incurfion made as it were by way of Piquering, sometimes pursuing, and sometimes retreating, in which the *Thebans* had the Advantage. But the Battle of *Tegyra*, which brought on that of *Leuctra*, rais'd *Pelopidas*'s Reputation very high; where none of the other Commanders had any pretence to share with him in the Honour of the day, nor the Enemy the least shew of Victory.

He kept a strict Eye over the City of *Orchomenum*, which had sided with the *Spartans*, and taken two Companies of Foot for its Guard, and at length found an Opportunity to make himself master of it. For having one day receiv'd Intelligence that the Garrison was march'd out to make an Incurfion into *Locris*, he hasten'd thither with his Forces, consisting of the sacred Battalion, and some Horse, hoping to find the Place defenceless; but when he came near the City, understanding that a Body of Troops were on their march from *Sparta*

to reinforce the Garrison, he retreated with his little Army through *Tegyra* along the sides of the Mountains, which was the only Way he cou'd possibly pass; for all the flat Country was overflow'd by the River *Melas*, which as soon as it rises, divides itself into Marshes, and navigable Pools, making all the lower Roads impassable.

A little below these Marshes stands the Temple of *Apollo Tegyryus*, whose Oracle has not been long silent; it was indeed in its highest Credit during the Wars with the *Medes*, when *Ecbecratis* was High-Priest. Here they report That God was born. The neighbouring Mountain is call'd *Delos*; and at the Foot of it the River *Melas* comes again into a Channel. Behind the Temple rise two copious Springs, admir'd for the sweetness and coolness of the Water: One of 'em is still call'd the *Palm*, the Other the *Olive*; as if *Latona* had not been deliver'd between two Trees, but Fountains. Near to this Place is Mount *Ptoum*, where they say She was affrighted at the appearance of a furious wild Boar. The Stories of *Python* and *Tityus* that happened there, seem to favour their Opinion who make it the Place where *Apollo* was born. I omit a thousand other fabulous stories, made use of to support this Opinion; since ancient Tradition does not rank Him in the number of those Gods that were born mortal, and having been once Men, and divested themselves of this corrupt and mortal Nature were transform'd into Gods, as *Hercules* and *Bacchus*; but he is One of the Eternal and Unbegotten, if we may credit those ancient Sages who have treated of the Nature of the Gods. But to resume the thread of our Discourse. As the *Thebans* return'd from *Orchomenum*, by *Tegyra*, the *Spartans* marching at the same time from *Locris*, met 'em upon the Road.

As soon as they had passed the Straits, and were in View, One ran in all haste to *Pelopidas*, and told him, *We are fallen into the Enemies Hands: And why*, said he, *not They into Ours?* At the same time he commanded his Horse that were in the Rear, to advance and begin

the Attack. His Foot, which were no more than three hundred Men, he drew into a close Body, not doubting but that, wherever they press'd, they would break through the Enemy, tho' superior in Number. The Spartans had divided their Infantry into two Battallions; Each consisted, as *Epchorus* reports, of five hundred, *Calisthenes* says Seven, but *Polybius* and Others nine hundred. *Gorgoleon* and *Theopompus* their Generals, relying on the Valour of their Troops, led them on to the Charge with great Bravery. The Shock began where the Commanders fought in Person on both sides, and was very sharp and furious; the Spartan Generals, who press'd hard upon *Pelopidas*, fell first, and All that were near them were either kill'd, or put to Flight: Thereupon the whole Army was so terrify'd, that they open'd a Lane for the Thebans, through which they might have pass'd safely, and continu'd their March, if they had pleas'd; but *Pelopidas* disdaining to accept of this Opportunity to make his Escape, march'd against Those who still kept their Ground, and made such a terrible Slaughter among them, that They who remain'd, being struck with Terror, were entirely routed, and ran away in great Confusion. The Thebans did not pursue them very far, for fear of the *Orcbomenians*, who were near the Place of Battle, and of the Reinforcement from *Lacedæmon*, which was arriv'd at *Tegyra*. They satisfied themselves with breaking the Enemy, and making an honourable Retreat, which was worth a Victory, since it was made through the very midst of a dispers'd and defeated Army.

After they had erected a Trophy, and gather'd the Spoils of the Slain, they return'd home full of Spirit, and greatly elated at their Success: For in all their former Wars, whether against *Greeks* or *Barbarians*, the Spartans were never before beaten by a smaller Number than their Own, nor when their Numbers were equal, and thus their Courage seem'd irresistible; their Fame wounded their Enemies before the Battle, and made them afraid to venture an Engagement, tho' on equal Terms.

This

This Battle first taught the *Greeks* that 'tis neither *Eurotas*, nor the Country that lies between *Babyce* and *Enacion*, breeds martial Spirits and bold Warriors, but that Courage and Bravery are the Produce of all Countries, where the Youth are asham'd of what is base, and daring in a good Cause, and where they fear the least Disgrace more than the greatest Danger; These are the Men that are most terrible to their Enemies.

Gorgidas, as Some report, first form'd the *Sacred Band*, consisting of three hundred select Men, to whom (being a Guard for the Castle) the City allow'd Provision, and all things necessary for exercising them; and they were call'd the *City-Band*, for Castles, in those Days, were call'd Cities. Others pretend that it was compos'd of Lovers and their Belov'd; in relation to which, there goes a merry Saying of *Pammenes*, that *Homer's Nestor* was not well skilled in ordering an Army, when he advis'd the *Greeks* to rank Tribe and Tribe, and Family and Family together. He shou'd have join'd Lovers, and their Beloved: for Men of the same Tribe, or Family, little value one another when Dangers press; but a Band cemented by Friendship founded upon Love, is invincible; since the Lovers, asham'd to be base in the Sight of their Beloved, and the Beloved before their Lovers, willingly rush into Danger for the Relief of One Another; and Reason good, since they have more regard for their absent Lovers, than for any Others, tho' present. An Instance of which that Man gave, who when his Enemy was ready to kill him, earnestly requested him to run him through the Breast, that his Lover might not blush to see him wounded in the Back. Thus 'tis said of *Iolaus*, who was belov'd by *Hercules*, that he accompany'd the Hero in all his Labours, and never deserted him in the greatest Danger. Hence arose the Custom for Lovers to swear inviolable Faith and Affection at *Iolaus's Tomb*, which *Aristotle* assures us, continued in his Time. 'Tis very probable therefore that this Band was call'd *Sacred*, on the same Account that *Plato* styles a Lover, a divinely inspir'd Friend.

'Tis

'Tis said, that this Band remain'd invincible 'till the Battle of *Cheronæa*; and when *Philip* after the Fight took a view of the Slain, and came to that Place where the Three hundred that fought his *Phalanx* lay dead together, he wonder'd, and understanding that it was the Band of Lovers, he wept, and said aloud, *May a Curse light on Those who can so much as suspect that such brave Men cou'd ever do or suffer a shameful Thing.*

In short, tis certain, that it was not, as the Poets say, the criminal Passion of *Laius* that introduc'd among the *Thebans* this Love of young Men, but it was their Legislators themselves that establisht it; for having a Mind to soften and polish in their Infancy the natural Fierceness and Roughness of their Youth, they brought the Flute into Vogue, and used it on all serious as well as ludicrous Occasions, instilling in them Principles of that Spiritual Love, as well as other more manly Sentiments in their Places of publick Exercises, that they might thereby temper and soften their innate Warmth and Fierceness: And therefore they did very well to make Harmony, the Daughter of *Mars* and *Venus*, the Tutelar Goddess of their City, thereby to signify, that wheresoever innate Valour and Bravery is mix'd with attractive Graces and the Arts of Persuasion, there must always be the most perfect and best cemented Government; since every Thing there obeys the Laws of Harmony.

But to return to the Sacred Band: *Gorgidas*, who first rais'd it, divided the Men of which it was compos'd in all Engagements, and dispos'd them up and down in the first Ranks of his Infantry, which made their Courage seem less conspicuous, and they were in effect weaken'd whilst they fought in separate Parties, and were mingled with Others, more in Number, and of inferior Resolution.

But *Pelopidas*, who had made Proof of their Bravery at the Battle of *Tegyra*, where they fought together, and unmix'd, never afterwards divided them, but keeping them always entire as one Body, he constantly charged at the Head of 'em in the most difficult and daring Attempts,

tempts. For as we see Horses, when they draw together in a Chariot with others, go on with greater Spirit and Alacrity, than when they are driven single and alone, not that the Air is more easily divided by their united Effort, but because Emulation and Jealousy raise their Mettle and heighten their Courage; so *Pelopidas* thought that brave Men were a kind of Spurs and Incentives to one another, and would be more useful, and fight with greater Gallantry together than apart.

Now when the *Lacedæmonians* had made Peace with all the other *Greeks*, and continued the War against the *Thebans* only, and when King *Cleombrotus* had enter'd their Country with an Army of ten thousand Foot and a thousand Horse, they saw themselves in Danger not only of losing their Liberty, as heretofore, but seem'd to be threaten'd with a total Extirpation; which caus'd such an Alarm, and struck so great a Terror all over *Bœotia*, as had never been known before. When all things were prepared, and *Pelopidas* ready to depart for the Army, his Wife following him to the Door earnestly besought him with Tears in her Eyes, to take care of himself, he reply'd, *Private Men are to be advis'd to take care of themselves, and Generals to take care of Others.*

When he came to the Army and found the General Officers differing in Opinion, he was the First that join'd with *Epaminondas*, who advis'd to give the Enemy Battle. He was not at that time Commander in Chief, but Captain of the Sacred Band; and a Man in the greatest Trust, as it was fit he shou'd be, after he had given such Proofs of his hearty Zeal and Affection for the Liberty of his Country.

A Resolution being then taken to fight, and both Armies lying before *Leuctra*, *Pelopidas* saw a Vision which very much discomposed him. In the Plain of *Leuctra* lie the Bodies of the Daughters of *Scedafus*, call'd from the Place *Leuctrides*. These Maids had been ravish'd by some *Spartans* whom they had entertain'd as Guests, and being unable to survive the Disgrace, they kill'd themselves, and were buried in this Plain. Their Father
went

went to *Lacedæmon* to demand Satisfaction for so detestable and impious an Action, but being unable to obtain it, with direful Curses and Imprecations against the *Spartans*, he kill'd himself at his Daughters Tombs. From that time many Prophecies and Oracles forewarn'd the *Spartans* to beware of the divine Vengeance at *Leuëtra*; but these Menaces were not understood, neither was the Place certainly known; because there was a Town in *Laconia* by the Sea-side, call'd *Leuëtrum*, and another of the same name near *Megalopolis*, in *Arcadia*; besides, the Villany was committed long before this Battle.

Now as *Pelopidas* was asleep in his Tent, he thought he saw the Maids weeping at their Tombs, and loading the *Spartans* with Imprecations, and at the same time their Father *Scedafus*, who commanded him to sacrifice a young red Virgin to his Daughters, if he desir'd to gain the Victory.

Pelopidas looking on This as a harsh and impious Injunction, rose, and told it to the Augurs and Commanders of the Army. Some were of Opinion that this Injunction was not to be neglected or disobey'd; alledging for Examples the ancient Histories of *Menecæus* the Son of *Creon*, and of *Macaria* the Daughter of *Hercules*; and Others more modern, as That of *Pherecydes* the Philosopher, who was put to Death by the *Lacedæmonians*, and whose Skin, at the Oracle's Command, is still carefully kept by the Kings of *Sparta*; and That of *Leonidas*, who, in obedience to the Oracle, did in a manner sacrifice Himself for the Safety of *Greece*; and lastly That of *Themistocles*, who, before the Battle of *Salamis*, sacrific'd three Prisoners to *Bacchus*, surnam'd *Omeſtes*; and that all these Sacrifices were justified by the Success. They said further, that *Agésilæus* marching from the same Place, and against the same Enemies that *Agamemnon* did before, was commanded one Night as he lay at *Aulis* to sacrifice his Daughter to the Goddess *Diana*; but out of his extreme Tenderness for her, he refus'd it; and so his Expedition prov'd successful:

cessless : These were their Reasons who were for paying a Regard to *Pelopidas's* Vision.

Others were of a contrary Opinion, and insisted that so barbarous and unjust an Oblation cou'd not be acceptable to any of the Gods, or to any superior Beings ; that *Typhons* and Giants did not preside over the World, but the Father of Gods and Men ; that it was impious to suppose that the Gods took delight in human Sacrifices ; and if there were any such, they were to be neglected as vicious and impotent Beings ; for such unjust and corrupt Desires cou'd only proceed from, and subsist in, weak and deprav'd Minds.

The Generals thus differing in Opinion, and *Pelopidas* being very much at a stand which way to determine, all on a sudden a wild She-Colt that had broke out of the Stud, ran through the Camp, and when she came near the Place where They were, stood still : whilst Some admired the sparkling Redness of her Colour, and Others the stateliness of her Gate, and the haughty Vigour of her Neighings, *Theocritus* the Augur having consider'd the Matter, cry'd out to *Pelopidas*, *Behold there the Victim that comes to offer itself ; wait Thou for no other Virgin, but sacrifice That which the Gods have sent Thee.* Whereupon they seiz'd the Colt, brought her to the Tombs of the *Leuētrides*, and there offer'd her up with the usual Prayers and Ceremonies, testifying their Joy, and publishing throughout the Army an Account of *Pelopidas's* Vision, and the Sacrifice that had been required of him.

The Day of Battle being come, *Epaminondas* plac'd his heavy-arm'd Infantry in the left Wing, which he order'd to advance and extend themselves aslant, to the end that the right Wing of the *Spartans* being oblig'd to divide from the other *Greeks*, their Allies, he might be able to break through them with the greater Ease, and press the harder upon *Cleombrotus* who commanded them ; but the Enemy perceiving his Design, chang'd the Disposition of their Army, and began to extend their right Wing further out, with a Design to encompass *Epaminondas*.

nondas. But *Pelopidas* came briskly up before *Cleombrotus* cou'd open and close his Divisions, and at the Head of his Sacred Band fell upon the disorder'd *Spartans*. The *Lacedæmonians* are the most expert of all the *Greeks* in the Art of War; and are train'd up, and accustom'd to nothing more than to keep themselves from Confusion when their Order is disturb'd, and follow any Leader, or Right-hand Man, disposing themselves to fight on what Part soever the Danger presses: But in this Battle, *Epaminondas*, without any regard to the other Troops, falling upon the right Wing while they were in Confusion, and *Pelopidas* at the same time coming up at the Head of his three hundred Men, with incredible Speed and Bravery, baffled and defeated all their Art and Skill, and caus'd such a Flight and Slaughter among the *Lacedæmonians*, as had never been known before. So that *Pelopidas*, who only commanded the Sacred Band, gain'd as much Glory and Renown by this Day's Victory, as *Epaminondas*, who was Governor of *Bœotia*, and Commander in chief of the whole Army.

Soon after this, being joint *Archons*, or Governors of *Bœotia*, they march'd into *Peloponnesus*, where they made several Cities revolt from the *Lacedæmonians*, as *Elis*, *Argos*, all *Arcadia*, and the greatest Part even of *Laconia*. It was now the very depth of Winter, near the latter End of the last Month in the Year, when the Time of their going out of their Office was very nigh expir'd; for on the first Day of the next Month new Governors were of course to succeed, and whoever refus'd to deliver up their Charge forfeited their Heads.

All the other *Archons*, for fear of this Law, and to avoid the Inclemency of the Season, were by 'all means for marching back with the Army to *Thebes*; but *Pelopidas* join'd with *Epaminondas*, and encouraging his Fellow-Citizens, led them against *Sparta*, and passing the *Eurotas*, took several of their Towns, and ravag'd the whole Country, at the Head of an Army of above seventy thousand Men, of which the *Thebans* did not make the twelfth Part. But the high Reputation of those

those two great Men made all the Allies without any Publick Order or Agreement range themselves with a respectful Silence under their Banners, and march under their Direction ; for the first and chiefest of all Laws seems to be That of Nature, which directs, that when People stand in need of Protection and Defence, that Person shou'd be their Chief, or General, who is best able to protect and defend 'em. As Mariners, who in a Calm, or Port, appear insolent, and brave the Pilot, but as soon as they come out to Sea, and a Storm begins to arise, at the first Appearance of Danger all their Eyes are fix'd on Him, and they rely wholly on his Skill ; so the *Argives*, the *Eleans*, and the *Arcadians* in their Consults wou'd contend with the *Thebans* for Superiority of Command ; but whenever they were oblig'd to fight, or saw any Danger at hand, they all submitted to the *Theben* Generals, and readily obey'd their Orders.

In this Expedition they united all *Arcadia* into one Body, and driving out the *Spartans* who inhabited *Messenia*, called home its ancient Inhabitants, and gave them *Ithome* to possess. And in their return home through *Cenchrea*, they defeated the *Athenians*, who had attack'd them in the narrow Ways, with a design to hinder their Passage. These great and mighty Exploits made all the other People of *Greece* applaud their Valour, and admire their Success ; but the Envy of their Fellow-Citizens increas'd in proportion to their Glory, prepar'd such a Reception for 'em at their Return, as their signal Services to their Country had very ill deserv'd ; for they were both clap'd up as State-Prisoners, and try'd for neglecting to lay down their Command at the Beginning of the Month call'd *Boucation*, and continuing to hold it four Months longer, contrary to Law ; during which Time they perform'd those famous Exploits in *Messenia*, *Arcadia* and *Laconia*.

Pelopidas was try'd first, and therefore was in most Danger ; but at last they were Both acquitted. *Epaminondas* bore the Accusation and Trial very patiently,

esteeming it a great piece of Generosity not to resent the Injuries of his Citizens. But *Pelopidas* being naturally of a warmer Temper, and excited by his Friends to revenge the affront, took this Occasion :

Meneclides, the Orator, was one of Those that were concern'd with *Melon* and *Pelopidas* in the Combination at *Charon's* House ; this Man seeing himself less consider'd by the *Thebans* than the rest of the Conspirators, and being withal powerful in Speech, but loose in his Manners, and ill-natur'd, he abused his natural Endowments to accuse and calumniate his Betters, and this he continued to do, even after Judgment was pass'd in their Favour. By his secret Practices he got *Epaminondas* remov'd from the Government of *Bœotia*, and for a long time hinder'd him from succeeding in every Thing he attempted : But being unable by all his Artifices to rob *Pelopidas* of the People's Favour, he went another way to work, and endeavour'd to create a Misunderstanding between Him and *Charon* ; for 'tis some Comfort and Relief to an envious Person, when he is unable to excel Those he envies, to make 'em be thought at least inferior to Those he has a mind to extol : For this Reason he was continually entertaining the People with the noble Exploits and Achievements of *Charon*, which he amplify'd as much as possible, and made frequent Panegyricks on his great Victories and Expeditions ; and particularly extoll'd the Battle won by their Horse under *Charon's* Command at *Platæa*, a little before the Battle of *Leuctra*, the Memory of which he attempted to perpetuate and make sacred, and had this Opportunity of doing it. *Androcydes*, a famous Painter from *Cyzicus*, had begun a Picture of some other Battle for the *Thebans*, which he work'd at in the City of *Thebes* ; but when the Revolt began, and the War came on, he was obliged to leave the City ; however, the *Thebans* kept the Picture, which was very nigh finish'd. *Meneclides* endeavour'd to persuade the People to hang this Picture in some Temple, or publick Place, with an Inscription signifying it to be one of *Charon's* Battles ; and this he did

with

with no other View but by that Means to obscure the Glory of *Pelopidas* and *Epaminondas*. But it was a ridiculous and senseless Ambition to prefer one single Engagement; wherein nothing considerable was achiev'd, and no more slain on the *Spartan* Side than one *Gerandas*, an obscure Citizen, and forty more, to so many great and noble Victories.

Pelopidas oppos'd this Motion, affirming it to be contrary to Law, and insisting that it had never been the Custom of the *Thebans* to honour any private Person on account of any publick Success, but to attribute the whole Glory of all their Victories to their Country. During this whole Proceeding he highly extoll'd *Charon*, but at the same time made it plainly appear that *Meneclides*, was a troublesome envious Fellow, and often ask'd the *Thebans*, if they had never before done any thing that was great and excellent. The *Thebans* hereupon laid a heavy Fine on *Meneclides*, which he being unable to pay, us'd his utmost Endeavours ever after to disturb and overturn the Government. An Account of these little Incidents is of some Use to give us Insight into the Lives and Manners of Men.

At that time *Alexander* the Tyrant of *Phœæ* made open War against several Parts of *Theffaly*, and had entertain'd a secret Design to subdue the whole; whereupon the Cities sent Ambassadors to *Thebes*, to beg the Assistance of some Troops and a General. *Pelopidas* knowing that *Epaminondas* was detain'd by the *Peloponnesian* War, offer'd Himself to command in *Theffaly*, being loth that the Skill he had acquir'd in military Affairs should lie uselefs, and well knowing that where-ever *Epaminondas* commanded, there was no need of any other General.

Pelopidas then march'd with an Army into *Theffaly*, where he soon reduc'd the City of *Larissa*, and oblig'd *Alexander* to submit, endeavouring to reform him, and instead of a Tyrant, to make him become a just and merciful Prince; but finding him incorrigible and brutal beyond Example, and receiving daily Complaints of his

Cruelty, Lewdness and Avarice, he began to be severe, and us'd him roughly; at which the Tyrant was so much alarm'd, that he made his Escape privately with his Guards. *Pelopidas* having thus secur'd the *Thessalians* from all danger of Tyranny, and left them in a good Understanding among themselves, march'd for *Macedonia*, where *Ptolemy* was making War against *Alexander* the King of *Macedon*; and whither he had been invited by those two Brothers, to decide their Disputes, and assist Him that should appear to be injured.

Pelopidas, immediately upon his Arrival, put an End to all their Differences, and recall'd all such as had been banished by the contending Parties on either Side, and taking with him *Philip*, King *Alexander's* Brother, and thirty Youths of the chief Families in *Macedonia* for Hostages, he brought them to *Thebes*; shewing the *Grecians* what Authority the *Thebans* had gain'd abroad by the Reputation of their Arms, and the good Opinion every where conceiv'd of their Justice and Integrity. This was that *Philip* who many Years after made War against *Greece*, with a Design to conquer and enslave it. He was then a Boy, and was brought up at *Thebes* with one *Pammenes*. Hence 'twas believ'd, that he propos'd *Epaminondas* as his Pattern, and 'twas from Him he learn'd his Activity in Battle, and Quickness in making an Advantage of all Opportunities, which were the least Parts of that great Man's Excellencies; but of his Temperance, his Justice, his Magnanimity, and his Clemency, which made him truly great, *Philip* possess'd no share at all, either from Nature or Imitation.

The Year following, the *Thessalians* prefer'd a second Complaint against *Alexander* the *Pherean*, as a Disturber of the Peace, and forming Designs upon their Cities. *Pelopidas* and *Ismenias* were sent joint Ambassadors thither; but having no Expectation of a War, they brought no Troops with them from *Thebes*, so that Things taking a contrary turn to what they expected, they were compell'd to make use of *Thessalians*.

At the same time *Macedonia* began to be troubled again with Factions and Commotions. *Ptolemy* had murder'd King *Alexander's* Brother, and seiz'd his Kingdom. The deceas'd King's Friends sent for *Pelopidas*, and he being willing to espouse their Interest, but having no Troops of his Own at hand, he rais'd some Mercenaries, with which he march'd directly against *Ptolemy*.

When they came near one another, *Ptolemy* found Means to corrupt the Mercenaries, and bring them over to his Side; but yet fearing the very Name and Reputation of *Pelopidas*, he came submissively to him as to a Superior, confess'd his Fault, ask'd Pardon, and solemnly promis'd to keep the Kingdom for the dead King's Brothers, and that he wou'd esteem the Friends and Enemies of *Thebes* as his Own; and for Security of this, gave his Son *Philoxenus*, and fifty of his Companions, Hostages. These *Pelopidas* sent to *Thebes*; but retaining still a Resentment of the Mercenaries Treachery in deserting him, and understanding that they had lodged the best part of their effects with their Wives and Children at *Pharsalus*, he thought the seizing Them wou'd be a sufficient Revenge for the Injury he had receiv'd: Whereupon he assembled some *Thessalian* Troops, and marched thither. He was no sooner arriv'd there, but *Alexander* the Tyrant appear'd before the Place with a mighty Army. But *Pelopidas* believing that he came thither to justify himself, and answer the Complaints that had been made against him, *Ismenias* and He went Themselves to him without any further Precaution; not that they were ignorant of his being wicked and bloody, but they imagin'd that the Power and Authority of *Thebes*, and their own Dignity and Reputation, wou'd protect 'em from all Violence. However as soon as the Tyrant saw them alone, and unarm'd, he took them Prisoners, and made himself Master of *Pharsalus*.

This Action fill'd the Minds of all his Subjects with Fears and Jealousies; believing, after so flagrant and daring an Injury, he wou'd spare no body; but behave

himself on all Occasions, and toward all Persons, as one quite desperate, that had thrown off all regard to himself, and his own Safety. When the *Thebans* heard the News of this Outrage, they were highly incens'd, and immediately sent an Army into *Thessaly*; and *Epaminondas* happening at that time to lie under their Displeasure, they made choice of other Generals.

In the mean time, the Tyrant brought *Pelopidas* to *Pberca*, and at first permitted every Body that wou'd to see him; believing that this disaster would humble his Spirit, and abate his Courage: But when *Pelopidas* advised the complaining *Pbereans* to be comforted, as if the Tyrant in a short time wou'd smart for his Injuries, and sent to tell him *that it was absurd daily to torment and put to Death so many innocent worthy Citizens, and to spare Him, who, he very well knew, if ever he escap'd out of his Hands, wou'd be sure to make him suffer the Punishment his Crimes had deserv'd*: The Tyrant, surpris'd at this Boldness and Magnanimity, answer'd, *Why is Pelopidas so much in haste to die?* Which being told *Pelopidas*, he sent him this Reply, *'Tis that thou may'st perish so much the sooner, by becoming still more hated both by Gods and Men.*

From that time the Tyrant forbid any one to see or discourse with him. But *Thebe* his Wife, the Daughter of *Jason*, who had likewise been Tyrant of *Pberca*, having been inform'd by his Keepers of the great Firmness and Intrepidity of *Pelopidas*, had a great desire to see, and talk with him. When she came into the Prison, and like a Woman could not immediately perceive his Greatness in his Calamity, but guessing by the meanness of his Attire, and Provision, that he was used basely, she fell a weeping. *Pelopidas* at first not knowing who she was, stood amazed; but when he understood her Quality he saluted her by her Father's Name, for *Jason* and He had been Friends and Familiars; and she saying *I pity your Wife, Sir*; he replied, *And I You, who being at Liberty can endure Alexander.* This Saying touch'd *Thebe* to the quick; for she already hated *Alexander* for his

his Cruelty and Insolence, and who, besides all his other infamous Behaviour, had abused her younger Brother to his Lust. Going therefore often to see *Pelopidas*, and complaining freely to him of the Outrages she had receiv'd, she grew more and more exasperated against her Husband, and became full of Resentment, Detestation, and desire of Revenge.

The *Theban* Generals that were come into *Thessaly* did nothing at all; but being either through ill Fortune or bad Conduct oblig'd to make a disadvantageous and dishonourable Retreat, the *Thebans* fin'd each of 'em ten thousand Drachmas, and sent *Epaminondas* with an Army to repair the Dishonour.

The Fame and Reputation of *Epaminondas* gave new Life and Courage to the *Thessalians*, and occasion'd great Insurrections among 'em, so that from that time the Tyrant's Affairs seem'd to be in a very desperate Condition; such was the Fear that had seiz'd all his Officers and Friends, so forward the Inclination of his Subjects to revolt, and so universal the Joy, at the prospect of that Vengeance that seem'd ready to overtake him for all his past Crimes.

But *Epaminondas* preferring the Safety of *Pelopidas* to his own Reputation, and fearing, if he push'd matters to an extremity at the first, the Tyrant might grow desperate, and, like a wild Beast, turn all his fury against his Prisoner, did not vigorously prosecute the War, but hovering still over him with his Army, he so handled the Tyrant, as not to make him despair, or abate his habitual Fierceness, for he very well knew his savage Disposition, and the little regard he had either to Reason or Justice. He was not ignorant that he had caus'd some Men to be buried alive, and Others to be dressed in Bears and Boars Skins, and then baited them with Dogs, or shot at them for his Diversion. At *Melibeia* and *Scotusa*, two Cities that were in Friendship and Alliance with him, he summon'd the People to an Assembly, and having surrounded 'em with his Guards, he put them All, Young and Old, to the Sword. He consecrated

secrated the Spear with which he slew his Uncle *Polyphron*, and having crown'd it with Festoons and Garlands, offer'd Sacrifice to it, as to a God, and gave it the name of *Tychon*.

Seeing a famous Tragedian once act the *Troades* of *Euripides*, he went hastily out of the Theatre, but sent to tell the Actor not to be disturb'd, but to go on with his Part; for he did not go out, from any Contempt of Him, but because he was asham'd his Citizens shou'd see Him, who never pity'd Those he murder'd, weep at the Sufferings of *Hecuba* and *Andromache*.

This cruel Tyrant was struck at the very Name of *Epaminondas*; and overpower'd with the Majesty and Awfulness of his Appearance began to discover his dastard Heart, like a cow'd Cock with his Wings hanging down, and dispatch'd an Embassy in all haste to intreat, and offer satisfaction. *Epaminondas* refused to admit such a Man an Ally to the *Thebans*, but only allow'd him a Truce of thirty days, and having recover'd *Pelopidas* and *Ismenias* out of his Hands, he march'd back with his Army.

In the mean time the *Thebans*, having discover'd that the *Spartans* and *Athenians* had sent Ambassadors to conclude a League with the King of *Persia*, sent *Pelopidas* on their Part; whose establish'd Reputation fully evidenc'd the Wisdom of their Choice.

No Man of such great Fame and Reputation, had ever before enter'd the King's Dominions; for the Glory he won against the *Spartans*, did not move slowly or obscurely; but after the Fame of the first Battle at *Leuctra* was gone abroad, the Report of some new Victories continually following, exceedingly increased and spread his Reputation. When he arriv'd at the *Persian* Court, and was seen by the Nobles and great Officers that waited there, he became the Object of their Admiration; All of 'em saying, *This is the Man that despoil'd the Spartans of their Empire both by Sea and Land, and confin'd Sparta within the Bounds of Taygetus and Eurotas; That Sparta, which a little before, under the*

Conduct

Conduct of Agefilaus, made War against our great Monarch, and threatn'd the Kingdoms of Susa and Ecbatana.

Artaxerxes was highly pleas'd at his Arrival, and made it his study to heighten his Reputation, by doing him all imaginable Honours; and This out of vanity and regard to himself, to let his Subjects see, that the most virtuous and renown'd Persons made their Court, and paid Homage to Him, as the greatest and happiest Monarch on Earth. But having admitted him to an Audience, and both seen his Person, and heard his Discourse, which was stronger than That of the *Atbenian*, and plainer than the *Spartan* Ambassadors, he conceiv'd a still greater Esteem for him; and truly acting like a King, he did not conceal the great regard he had for him: and This the other Ambassadors perceiv'd, tho' He seem'd to have done *Antalcidas* the *Spartan* the greatest Honour; by sending him a Garland dipp'd in rich Essences, which he Himself had worn at an Entertainment. He did not indeed treat *Pelopidas* after so familiar and free a manner, but he sent him the richest and most magnificent Presents, and granted All he asked; *that all the Greeks shou'd be free and independent, that Messina shou'd be re-peopled, and that the Thebans should be* (1) Πάτρι-
always reckon'd the King's (1) hereditary κῆρ φίλους.
Friends.

Having receiv'd so favourable an Answer he return'd home, without accepting any other of the King's Presents, than what serv'd as a Pledge of his Majesty's Favour and Good-will towards him; and this Behaviour of *Pelopidas* ruin'd the other Ambassadors. The *Atbenians* try'd and executed *Timogoras*; and indeed if they did it for receiving so many Presents from the King, their Sentence was just and good: For he not only took Gold and Silver, but a rich Bed, and Slaves to make it; as if the *Greeks* had been less ingenious and skilful in such Arts. Besides This, he received fourscore Cows, and Herdmen to look after them, as if he wanted Milk for some Distemper; and last of All, when he left the Court, he was carried in a Chair as far as the Sea-Coast, at the King's Expence,

pence, who paid the Chairmen four Talents for his Carriage.

But 'tis probable the Presents he received were not the principal Cause of the *Athenians* Displeasure; since *Epicrates*, a Porter, not only confessed in a publick Assembly of the People, that he Himself had received Presents from the King of *Persia*, but proposed, instead of choosing nine Archons, or Governors, every Year, that a Decree should be made to send yearly Twelve of the poorest Citizens Ambassadors to *Persia*, to be enriched by the King's Presents; which Motion set all the People a laughing.

But what exasperated the *Athenians* most, was, that the *Thebans* had obtained All they desir'd; in which they laid too little Stress on the great Reputation of *Pelopidas*, not considering that His Fame carried more Weight and Rhetorick with it, than all the studied Harangues of the other Ambassadors, especially with a Prince who always took care to compliment and favour the most Successful and Victorious.

The Affection and Esteem of the *Thebans* for *Pelopidas* was not a little increased by this Embassy, in which he procured the Freedom of *Greece* and Restitution of *Messina*, of which they gave him very signal Proofs at his Return.

Alexander, the *Pherean* Tyrant, returning at this time to his natural Disposition, had destroyed several Cities of *Thessaly*, and put Garrisons into Those of the *Pthiotæ*, the *Achaïans*, and the *Magnesiens*; who hearing that *Pelopidas* was returned, sent Deputies to *Thebes*, to desire the Assistance of some Forces, and Him for their General. The *Thebans* soon came to a Resolution to grant their Request: And now when all Things were in a manner prepared, and the General just ready to march, all on a sudden the Sun was eclipsed, and the whole City of *Thebes* covered with Darkness at Mid-day. *Pelopidas* seeing the People so much surprised at this Phenomenon, did not think fit to compel the Army to march under such Apprehensions, nor to hazard

ward the Lives of seven thousand of his Fellow-Citizens; but committing himself wholly to the *Thessalians*, and taking with him only three hundred Horse, composed of *Thebans* and Strangers, that offered themselves as Volunteers, he departed, contrary to the Opinion of the Augurs and Citizens, who endeavoured to hinder him, believing that this Eclipse portended something extraordinary, and boded ill to this great Man. But *Pelopidas*, besides his Resentment for the Injuries he had receiv'd, hoped, from the Conversation he formerly had with his Wife *Thebe*, to find great Disorders and Divisions in the Tyrant's own Family. But That which excited and urged him most to this Undertaking was the Glory of the Action itself; for his whole Aim and Ambition was, to let all the *Greeks* see, that at the same time when the *Spartans* on one hand sent Officers and Generals to *Dionysius* the *Sicilian* Tyrant, and the *Athenians* on the Other, were kept in Pay, as it were, by *Alexander*, and had erected a brazen Statue in Honour of Him, as a Benefactor, the *Thebans* were the only People that waged War to succour the Distressed, and to exterminate all arbitrary and unjust Government in *Greece*.

After he had assembled his Force at *Pharsalus*, he marched against the Tyrant; who finding that *Pelopidas* had but few *Thebans*, and that his own Infantry was more than double the Number of the *Thessalians*, went to meet him as far as the Temple of *Tbetis*: And when it was told *Pelopidas* that the Tyrant was advancing towards him with a prodigious Army, he said, *So much the better, we shall beat so many the More.*

Hard by a Place call'd *Cynocephales* (*Dogs Heads*) there stood two steep Hills opposite to one another, in the middle of the Plain. Both Sides strove to get possession of these two Hills with their Foot, and at the same time *Pelopidas* ordered his Horse, which were very good, to charge the Enemy's Cavalry, which they presently routed, and pursued over the Plain. But *Alexander* had gained the Hills before the *Thessalian* Foot could reach them, and falling fiercely upon Such of them

as attempted to force those Ascents, he kill'd the Foremost of them, and wounded so many of Those that followed, that they were obliged to give way.

Pelopidas seeing This, called back his Horse, and ordered them to attack such of the Enemy as still kept their Ground; and taking his Shield in his Hand, made what Haste he could to join Those that fought about the Hills; and advancing to the Front filled his Men with such Courage and Alacrity, that the Enemy imagined they came with other Spirits, and other Bodies to the Onset. They stood two or three Charges; but when they found the *Theffalian* Foot still press forward, and perceived the Horse returning from the Pursuit, they began to give Ground, and made a slow and orderly Retreat. *Pelopidas* at the same time viewing, from an Ascent, the Enemy's Army, which did not yet in reality fly, but began to give way, and fall into Disorder, stop'd for a while, casting his Eyes about, and looking every way to find out *Alexander*.

As soon as he perceived him in the right Wing, rallying and encouraging his Mercenaries, he was no longer Master of his Reason, but inflamed at the Sight, and blindly and heedlessly following his Passion, he advanced far before his Soldiers, crying out, and challenging the Tyrant, who did not dare to receive him, but retreating, hid himself amongst his Guards. The foremost of the Mercenaries that came Hand to Hand were cut down by *Pelopidas*, but Others fighting at a Distance, shot through his Armour, and wounded him; after which they stabbed him in the Breast with their Spears.

The *Theffalians* seeing him in this Danger, made haste from the Hills to his Assistance; but when they came to the Place where he was, found him dead upon the Ground. At the same time both Horse and Foot pressing hard upon the Enemy intirely routed them, pursuing them a great Way, and covering the Plain with more than three thousand dead Bodies. The *Thebans* that were then present expressed the greatest Concern imaginable at *Pelopidas*'s Death, calling him their Father, Saviour,

Saviour, and Instructor in every Thing that was great and honourable. And 'tis no wonder They did so, when the *Thessalians* and Allies, after they had exceeded by their Edicts, in his Favour, the greatest Honours that had ever been paid to human Virtues, gave still greater and more undeniable Proofs of their Love to him by their Grief; for the whole Army, both Officers and Soldiers, when they understood he was dead, neither put off their Armour, unbridled their Horses, nor dressed their Wounds, but ran all to Him, as if he had been still alive, heaped up the Spoils of the Enemy about his dead Body, and cut off their Horses Mains, and their own Hair; and such as retired to their Tents, neither kindled a Fire, or took any Refreshment, but a general Silence, Consternation and Grief reigned throughout the Army, as if they had not gained a very great and glorious Victory, but were defeated and enslaved by the Tyrant.

In all the Cities through which his Body was carried, the Magistrates, young Men, Children, and Priests came out to meet it with Trophies, Crowns, and golden Armour. And when the time of his Interment was come, the *Thessalian* Elders begged the *Thebans* to allow them the Honour of burying him. One of them upon this Occasion made the following Speech.

Illustrious Friends and Allies, we ask a Favour of you, which will be a very singular Honour; and at the same time administer Consolation to us in this great and inexpressible Misfortune. 'Tis not Pelopidas alive the Thessalians desire to attend; 'tis not to Pelopidas, sensible of what is done to him, they desire to pay the Honours due to his Merit: No, Pelopidas dead is their present Concern. Permit us to wash, adorn, and pay our last Honours to his Body, which will convince us that you believe our Share in this common Calamity greater than your Own. You, 'tis true, have lost an excellent General; but We, with the Loss of a General, have lost all Hopes of Liberty; for how shall we dare to desire Another of you, since we cannot restore Pelopidas?

The *Thebans* sympathizing with them in their Concern, granted their Request. And never was a more splendid Funeral seen ; at least in the Opinion of Those who do not think that Magnificence consists in Gold, Ivory and Purple ; like one *Phibistus*, who made a mighty Encomium on the Funeral of *Dionysius* the Tyrant, which, to speak properly, was only like the pompous Catastrophe of a Bloody Tragedy, that is to say, of his Tyranny. *Alexander*, at the Death of *Hephestion*, did not only cut off the Mains of his Horses and Mules, but took down the Battlements from the Walls of Cities, that even the Towns might seem Mourners, and instead of their former beauteous Appearance look dejected at his Funeral : But such kinds of Pomp and Magnificence being affected and forc'd, are attended with Envy towards Him in whose Honour they are performed, and with Hatred against Him that commands them, and are far from being Proofs of a sincere Love and Esteem ; and only shew the barbarous Pride, Luxury, and Vanity of Those who lavish their Own and Others Wealth to vain and contemptible Purposes. But that a Man of common Rank, dying in a strange Country, neither his Wife, Children nor Kinsmen present ; none either desiring or ordering it, should be attended, buried and crowned by so many Cities, that strove to exceed one another in the Demonstrations of their Love, seems to be the height of Happiness. For, as *Æsop* said, *Death to a good Man in the Time of his Prosperity is so far from being a Misfortune, that 'tis the greatest Happiness, because it secures to him the Glory of his virtuous Actions, and advances him above the Power of Fortune.* And that *Spartan's* Advice was still better, who embracing *Diagoras* after he Himself, his Sons and Grandsons had all conquer'd and been crown'd in the *Olympick Games*, said to him, *Die, Diagoras, die quickly, for thou canst not be a God.* And yet is there any one that will pretend to compare all the Victories in the *Pythian* and *Olympick Games*, with One of those Enterprizes of *Pelopidas*, in All which he was constantly Victorious ? So that after he had spent the greatest

greatest part of his Life in great and glorious Actions, and had been thirteen times named Governor of *Boeotia*, he died at last in a noble Attempt to extirpate Tyranny and restore the Liberties of *Theffaly*?

If his Death brought great Grief, it brought greater Advantage to the Allies; for no sooner were the *Thebans* advertis'd of it, but prompted by a Desire of Revenge they immediately sent to their Assistance an Army of seven thousand Foot, and seven hundred Horse, under the Command of *Malcitus* and *Diogiton*, who coming upon *Alexander* unexpectedly defeated his Army, and reduced him to such Straits, that they compelled him to restore those Cities he had taken from the *Theffalians*, to withdraw his Garrisons from the *Magnesiensians*, *Phthiotæ* and *Acbaïans*, to swear perpetual Obedience to the *Thebans*, and to make War against whatsoever Enemies They should command.

The *Thebans* were satisfied with these Conditions; but Punishment soon followed the Tyrant for his Wickedness, and the Death of *Pelopidas* was revenged in this manner.

He, as we mentioned before, had instructed *Thebe* not to be afraid of the exterior Shew and Equipage of Tyranny, notwithstanding she was surrounded by Slaves and Out-laws, that were the Tyrant's Guards. She therefore fearing the falsehood, and hating the Cruelty of her Husband, conspired with her three Brothers, *Tisiphonus*, *Pytholaus* and *Lycophron*, to kill him; and they put their Design in Execution after this manner: The whole Palace was full of Night Guards, except their Bed-Chamber, which was an upper Room, and before the Door lay a Dog in Chains to guard it, which would fly at All but the Tyrant and his Wife, and one Slave that constantly fed him.

When the time for putting this Design in execution was come, *Thebe* hid her Brothers all Day in a Room hard by; and going alone into *Alexander's* Chamber whilst he was asleep, as she used to do, she came out again in a little Time, and commanded the Slave to lead

away the Dog, because her Husband had a mind to sleep without being disturb'd; and that the Stairs might make no Noise as her Brothers came up, she covered them with Wool. All things being thus prepar'd she fetched up her Brothers softly; and leaving them at the Door with Poniards in their Hands, went into the Chamber, and presently returned with the Tyrant's Cimiter, that hung at the head of his Bed, and shewed it them as a Confirmation that he was fast a sleep. Being now upon the point of Execution, the young Men appeared terrified, and afraid to proceed; which so enraged *Thebe*, that she called them Cowards, and with bitter Oaths professed she would go and awake the Tyrant, and discover their whole Plot. When Shame and Fear had brought them to Themselves again, and they had resumed their former Resolution, she led them into the Chamber, and with a Light in her Hand conducted them to her Husband's Bed. One of them caught him fast by his Feet, Another by the Hair of his Head, while the Third stabbed him with his Poniard. His *Exit* may perhaps be thought too quick and easy for so cruel and detestable a Monster; but if it be considered in all its Circumstances and Consequences, that he was the first Tyrant that ever fell by the Contrivance of his own Wife, and that his dead Body was exposed to all kind of Indignities, spurn'd and troden under Foot by his Subjects, and left as a Prey for Dogs and Vultures; his Death will appear to carry with it a full and just Reward for his innumerable Oppressions and Cruelties.



THE



THE
L I F E
O F
M A R C E L L U S.

Marcus Claudius, who had been five times Con-
sul, was the Son of *Marcus*, and the First of
his Family that was called *Marcellus*, that
is to say, *Martial*; as *Pofidonius* affirms:
He was by long Experience skilful in the Art
of War, and by Nature active, vigorous and daring.
That haughty Fierceness his Courage inspired him with,
he shewed only in Battle; on all other Occasions he
was modest, courteous, and humane; and so fond of
the *Grecian* Learning and Eloquence, that he admired
and honoured All that excelled in them; but he did not
make a Progress Himself, equal to his Desires, because
his other Business and Employment took him off from
a close Application. If ever God designed that Men

Shou'd lead their Lives in fierce and endless War,

as *Homer* says, they were undoubtedly the *Romans* of
those first Ages. In their Infancy they had the *Cartha-*
ginians

ginians to contend with for *Sicily*; in their middle Age, the *Gauls* for *Italy* itself; and in their old Age they were obliged to contend again with the *Carthaginians* and *Hannibal*. Nor were they allow'd the common Privilege of Age to excuse 'em from the Wars, their Merits and Valour continually calling 'em forth to superior Commands.

As for *Marcellus*, he was admirably skill'd in all kinds of Fighting; but for single Combat, he had not his Equal. He never refused a Challenge, or mis'd killing Those that challenged him. In *Sicily*, seeing his Brother *Otacilius* once in Danger, he threw his Shield over him, slew all Those that overpower'd him, and so saved his Life. For That and other honourable Achievements, he received from the Generals, while very young, Crowns and other Presents, as a Reward of his Valour and Bravery. His Virtues shining out more and more, and his Reputation daily increasing, the People chose him *Ædilis Curulis*, and the Priests created him *Augur*. This is a Kind of Sacerdotal Office, to which the Law assigns the Superintendence of that kind of Augury or Prediction which is taken from the Flight of Birds.

During the Time of his being in the former of these Offices, contrary to his Inclination, he fell under a Necessity of bringing a criminal Accusation before the Senate. He had a Son of his own Name, who was very young, but of such extraordinary Beauty, Discretion, and Behaviour, that he was universally admired. *Capitolinus*, *Marcellus*'s Colleague, a very insolent and vicious Man, fell in love with this Youth, and made an attempt upon him. At first, the Youth of Himself rejected all his Offers, without acquainting any Body; but finding he would not desist, but that he continued his Solicitations, he discovered the Matter to his Father. *Marcellus* highly enraged at such an Affront, accused *Capitolinus* before the Senate. *Capitolinus* made use of all kind of Arts and Evasions to get Judgment deferred, and at last appealed from the Senate to the Tribunes. But they refusing to receive his Appeal, he defended him-

self by a flat Denial of the Charge. As there was no Witness of the Fact, *Capitolinus* having made his Attempt privately, and Alone, the Senate ordered the Youth Himself to be brought before them, and to be examined. As soon as ever he appeared, his Blushes, Tears, and Bashfulness, mixed with Indignation and Resentment, convinced 'em so far, that they required no further Proof; but condemned *Capitolinus* to pay a considerable Fine to *Martellus*; which he converted into a silver Exchange-Table, and consecrated it to the Gods.

Scarce was the first *Punic* War ended, which had lasted two and twenty Years, before *Rome* became engaged in a new War against the *Gauls*. The *Insubrians*, a People of Celtic Extract, dwelling on this side the *Alps*, tho' very powerful in Themselves, applied to their Neighbours for Assistance, and particularly to Those called *Gasatæ*, from the heavy Darts or Javelins used by them in Fight, who served any Body for Pay. It seemed indeed strange, but yet was very fortunate for the *Romans*, that they did not happen to be engaged in this *Gallic* War, before That against the *Carthaginians* was concluded, but that the *Gauls* continued quiet all that time; as if they had really waited to take up the Conqueror, and would not attack the *Romans* 'till they were flush'd with Victory, and had no other Enemy to cope with. However, the near Neighbourhood as well as ancient Renown and Bravery of the *Gauls* struck the *Romans* with great Terror; for they were indeed the Enemy they dreaded most, having not forgot how they had formerly made themselves masters of *Rome*; from which Time it was provided by Law, that the Priests should be excused from taking Arms, except only to defend the City against the *Gauls*.

The vast Preparations made by the *Romans* on that Occasion, (for 'tis said so many thousand of 'em were never seen in Arms at once, either before or since) as well as their new and extraordinary Sacrifices, plainly shewed the Apprehensions they were under at that time. For tho'

tho' they had received none of the barbarous Rites or Customs of other Nations, had nothing cruel or inhuman in their divine Worship, but imitated the polite Manners of the *Greeks*, and had just and pious Sentiments of the Gods ; yet at the Appearance of this War, in obedience to some Prophecies contained in the Books of the Sibyls, they thought themselves obliged to bury alive, in That which is called the Beast-Market, two *Greeks*, a Man and a Woman, and likewise two *Gauls*, one of each Sex ; which barbarous and abominable Sacrifices they continue to this Day, at which the People are not allowed to be present.

In the Beginning of this War, the *Romans* sometimes gained very signal Victories, and were as often shamefully defeated ; but neither good nor bad Success was available either to put a final Period to the War, or so much as to bring on a Treaty, 'till *C. Quintius Flaminius*, and *P. Furius Philo*, being Consuls, marched against the *Insu-brians* with a powerful Army. It was then reported that the River which runs through the Country of *Pice-num* was turned into Blood, and that three Moons were seen at *Ariminum* at the same time. The Priests, whose Business it was to observe the Flying of Birds at the time of making their Consuls, declared that the Election of those Two was unduly and inauspiciously made, and had ill Omens attending it. Hereupon the Senate dispatched Letters to the Army forthwith, expressly forbidding the Consuls to attempt any thing against the Enemy in that Capacity, and enjoining 'em to return with all Speed to *Rome*, in order to lay down their Office.

Flaminius having received these Letters, deserted opening them 'till he had fought and defeated the Enemy, and ravaged their whole Country ; after which he marched towards *Rome* : and tho' he carried a prodigious Booty home with him, yet none of the People went out to meet him, but had like to have denied him the Honour of a Triumph, because he did not instantly obey the Commands of the Senate, but slighted and despised their Orders,

Orders. And as soon as ever the Triumph was ended, both He and his Collegue were deposed from their Office, and reduced to the Condition of private Citizens: Such a Respect had the *Romans* for Religion, making all their Affairs depend solely on the Pleasure of the Gods; never suffering, no not in their greatest Prosperity, the least Neglect or Contempt of their ancient Rites or Oracles; being fully persuaded that it was of much greater Importance to the Publick Welfare that their Magistrates and Generals should reverence and obey the Gods, than if they conquered and subdued their Enemies. For this Reason it was, that *Tiberius Sempronius*, who for his Fortitude and other Virtues was so highly beloved and esteemed by the *Romans*, when he was Consul, chose *Scipio Nasica* and *Caius Marcius Figulus* his Successors.

When these two Consuls were gone into their respective Provinces, *Sempronius* happening by Chance to light upon some Books containing Regulations and Directions relating to sacred Rites and Customs, he found out somewhat he never knew before, which was this; *Whenever the Magistrate went out of the City, and sat down in a House or Tabernacle bired for that Purpose, to observe the Flight of Birds, if it happened for any Cause whatsoever that he was obliged to return into the City before he had finished his Observations, he was not to make use of that Lodge again, but to take another, and from thence begin his Observations anew.* *Sempronius* was ignorant of this Particularity, when he named those two Consuls, for he had twice made use of the same Tabernacle. But when he came afterwards to understand his Mistake, he declared it to the Senate, who, as trifling as that Circumstance might seem to be, immediately wrote to the Consuls; who, leaving their Provinces, returned to *Rome*, and resigned the Consulship. But these Things happened long after the times we are now treating of. Two Priests also of the best Families in *Rome*, *Cornelius Cethegus* and *Quintus Sulpicius*, were degraded from the Priesthood; the former

mer for not having exposed in proper Form the Entrails of a Beast slain in Sacrifice; and the latter, because, while he was sacrificing, the Tuft, that the Priests, called *Flamens*, wear on the Top of their Caps, fell off. Because a Rat was heard to cry the very Moment that *Minucius* the Dictator named *Caius Flaminius* General of the Horse, the People obliged them Both to quit their Posts, and chose Others in their stead: And by this Nicety and Exactitude in the most minute Circumstances, they kept free from Superstition, observing only their ancient Customs, without Change or Innovation.

Flaminius and his Collegue being thus deposed from the Consulate, the Roman Magistrates, call'd *Inter-reges*, chose *Marcellus* in their Room; who, as soon as he had entered upon his Office, chose *Cn. Cornelius Scipio* for his Collegue. The *Gauls* sent Ambassadors to propose a Treaty of Peace, and the Senate seemed inclined to it, but *Marcellus* excited the People, and made 'em determine for War. However, after many Difficulties, a Peace was at last concluded; which, 'tis said, the *Gesatae* broke soon after; who, to the number of thirty thousand, passing the *Alps*, joined the *Insubrians*, who were still more numerous; and relying on their Numbers, advanced boldly as far as *Acerra*, a City, situated between the *Po* and the *Alps*, that was besieged by the *Romans*. From thence King *Viridomarus* taking with him ten thousand of the *Gesatae*, ravaged the whole Country near the *Po*.

Marcellus having received an account of their March, lest his Collegue *Scipio* before *Acerra*, with the light and heavy-armed Infantry, and a third Part of the Horse; and taking with him the rest of the Horse, and six hundred of the lightest Foot, he pursued the ten thousand *Gesatae* Night and Day without Intermision; 'till at last he came up with them near *Clasidium*, a small Town belonging to the *Gauls*, which a little before had been brought under Subjection to the *Romans*. He had not time to refresh his Troops, or give them Rest; for the *Barbarians* were soon advertised of his

his Arrival; and seeing the small Number of his Foot, and making little Account of his Horse, reckoned themselves secure of Victory. For These, as well as all the other *Gauls*, being excellent Horsemen, thought they had the Advantage in that respect, and especially finding themselves superior in Number to *Marcellus*. Full therefore of Rage and Fury, they march directly against him, sending forth mighty Menaces, as tho' they had been sure of carrying their Point without opposition; *Viridomarus* their King riding in great State at the Head of his Army. *Marcellus*, because his Troops were but few, that they might not be encompassed by the Enemy, extended his Wings of Horse, thinning and widening them by degrees, 'till at last his Front was very nigh equal to That of the Enemy.

When he had done This, and was advancing to the Charge, his Horse, frightened at the Bravadoes and Noise of the *Gauls*, turned short all on a sudden, and in spite of all his Endeavours to the contrary, carried him back. *Marcellus* fearing that this Motion might be superstitiously taken for an ill Omen, and so dishearten his Men, took his Horse by the Bridle and turned him quite round, and so returning to his former Station, adored the Sun; making Them believe that his wheeling about was not an involuntary Accident, but a designed Act of Devotion; for it was customary with the *Romans* to turn round when they worshipped the Gods. When he was upon the very point of engaging with the *Gauls*, he made a Vow, that he would consecrate to *Jupiter Feretrius* the best of the Arms that should be taken from the Enemy. At that very Instant the King of the *Gauls* spying him, and guessing from the Ensigns of Authority that he was the *Roman* General, spurred his Horse with all his Might, and brandishing his Spear on high, loudly challenged him to the Combat. He was a well-made Man, exceeding the Rest of the *Gauls* in Stature, and had on that day a Suit of Armour, adorned with Gold and Silver, and heightened with Purple and the most lively Painting, so that it
 shone

shone like Lightning. Whilst *Marcellus* was viewing the Disposition of the Enemy's Forces, he cast his Eyes upon that Armour, and concluded from the Richness of them, that Those were the Arms he had vowed to *Jupiter*: Whereupon he rode against Him with all his Might, and with his Spear pierced his Breast-Plate; the Violence of the Stroke, which received a double Force from the Weight and Swiftmess of the Horse, was so great, that it overset the King, and threw him on the Ground. *Marcellus* pursuing his Blow, at the second or third Stroke killed him outright: then leaping from his Horse, he disarmed him, and taking his Arms and lifting them up towards Heaven, said, *O Jupiter Feretrius, who from on high beholdest the bold Exploits and Achievements of renowned Captains and Commanders in the Day of Battle, in thy Presence have I a General slain a General, I a Consul slain a King with my own Hand: To Thee I consecrate these first and most excellent of the Spoils; do thou be propitious, and crown our Actions with the like Success in the Prosecution of this War.*

When he had finished his Prayer, the *Roman* Horse began the Charge, encountering both the Enemy's Horse and Foot at the same time; and, notwithstanding the Inequality of their Numbers, obtained a Victory complete in its Kind, and almost incredible in its Circumstances. For never before or since did a handful of Horse give so entire a Defeat to such a superior Force, both of Horse and Foot, that were then drawn up in Battle against them. *Marcellus* having slain the greatest Part of the Enemy, and taken all their Arms and Baggage, marched back to join his Colleague, who had not such good Success in his Undertaking against the *Gauls* before *Milan*, which is a very large City, well inhabited, and the Capital of all that Country. The *Gauls* defended this Place with such Obstinacy and Resolution, that *Scipio*, instead of besieging it, seemed rather besieged himself. But upon the Return of *Marcellus*, the *Gesatae* understanding that their King was slain,

slain, and his Army defeated, withdrew their Forces in all haste, and so *Milan* was taken, and the *Gauls* delivered up their other Cities to the *Romans*, who granted 'em a Peace on reasonable Conditions.

The Senate made a Decree, that only *Marcellus* should have the Honour of a Triumph; which, for the Quantity and Richness of the Spoils, the Number and Stature of the Captives, and the Pomp and Magnificence of all Kinds, was one of the finest and most surprising that had ever been seen. But the most rare and agreeable Sight of all was *Marcellus* himself, bearing in Triumph the compleat Armour of the vanquished *Barbarian*, which he had vowed to *Jupiter*. He had prepared a Bearer shaped like a Trophy out of the Stock of a tall straight Oak. To This he fastened the Armour in a circular Form, disposing every Part in an apt and natural Order. When the Procession began to move, he ascended his triumphal Chariot, and pass'd through the City with the Trophy on his Shoulders, which represented a Man in Armour, and was the noblest Ornament of the whole Triumph. The Army closed the Procession with glittering Arms and burnished Armour, singing Songs of Triumph, and in Hymns of Victory celebrating the Praises of *Jupiter* and their General.

Being arrived in this Order at the Temple of *Jupiter Feretrius*, he there fixed and dedicated his Trophy, being the Third, and, as yet, the Last of any *Roman* General that claimed that Honour. The First was *Romulus*, after he had slain *Acron* King of the *Cæninenses*; *Cornelius Cossus*, who slew *Volumnius* the *Tuscan*, was the Second; and the Third and last was *Marcellus*. The God to whom they consecrated these Spoils, was *Jupiter*, surnamed *Feretrius*, from the *Greek* Word *Feretrum*, signifying a Car, or Bearer, on which the Trophy was born in Triumph; the *Greek* Language being at that time very much mixt with the *Latin*. Others affirm that *Feretrius* signifies the same as *Thunderer*, being deriv'd à *feriendo*; and as nothing strikes with

greater Violence than Thunder, so to *strike* is in the Roman Language *ferire*. Lastly there are Others who will have it that this Name is taken from the Strokes given in Battle; for even now when the Romans charge to pursue an Enemy, they by way of Encouragement call out to one another, *feri, feri*, that is to say, *strike, kill*. They gave the general Name of *Spoils* to whatever is taken from the Enemy in War; but Those which their General took from the Chief Commander of the Enemy's Army, after he had slain him with his own Hands, had the particular Appellation of *rich* or *Opime Spoils*. But notwithstanding This, some Authors write that *Numa Pompilius* in his Commentaries makes mention of First, Second, and Third *Opime Spoils*, and others that the First should be consecrated to *Jupiter Feretrius*, the Second to *Mars*, and the Third to *Quirinus*; as also that the Reward of the First should be three hundred *Asses*, of the Second two hundred, and of the Third a hundred. But the most general and commonly received Opinion is, that the only honourable Spoils that deserve the name of *Opime*, are those which the General takes in a pitch'd Battle, and from the Enemy's General, whom he has slain with his own Hand. But of this Matter enough.

This Victory and the Conclusion of the War caus'd so much Joy among the Roman People, that they ordered a Golden Cup to be made and presented to *Apollo* at *Delpbi*, as a Testimony of their Gratitude; and divided a great Part of the Booty among the Confederate Cities that had sided with them, and likewise sent considerable Presents to *Hiero* King of *Syracuse*, their Friend and Ally.

Some time after This, *Hannibal* having made an Irruption into *Italy*, *Marcellus* was sent with a Fleet to *Sicily*: And two Years after happened the unfortunate Defeat at *Cannæ*, in which many thousands of the Romans were slain, and the few that escaped, retired to *Cannusum*; and it was very much feared, that *Hannibal*, when he had thus destroyed the Strength of the Roman

Forces,

Forces, would march directly with his victorious Troops to Rome. Whereupon *Marcellus* sent fifteen hundred of his Men by Sea to guard the City; and by order of the Senate repaired to *Cannusium*; where having put himself at the Head of those Troops that had retired thither after the Battle, he brought them all out of their Intrenchments, being resolved to defend the flat Country.

The Wars had by this time carried off the chief of the Roman Nobility, and most of their greatest Captains were fallen in Battle. They had still left a very extraordinary Person, *Fabius Maximus*, a Man of singular Worth and great Capacity. But his mighty Precaution and over-great Solitude to avoid the least Risk or Loss, pass'd for a Defect in Courage, and Slowness in Execution. Looking upon him therefore as a Person proper to provide for their Defence, but by no means fit to attack an Enemy, they applied themselves to *Marcellus*; and wisely mixing and tempering his active Forwardness and daring Courage with the slow cautious Conduct of *Fabius*, they often chose them Consuls together, and sometimes sent them, One as Consul, and the Other as Pro-consul, against the Enemy. For this Reason 'twas, as *Posidonius* writes, that *Fabius* was called the *Buckler*, and *Marcellus* the *Sword* of the Roman State. And *Hannibal* himself used to say, *he stood in Fear of Fabius as his Schoolmaster, and of Marcellus as his Adversary*; for the Last would hurt him, but the Former only hinder him from doing Hurt.

Hannibal's Soldiers, after their Victory, growing dissolute and careless, neglected all manner of Discipline, and often straggled in Parties about the Country in search of Plunder; where *Marcellus* fell upon 'em frequently, and cut off great Numbers, and so by little and little diminished the Enemy's Forces. After This, he went to the Assistance of *Naples* and *Nola*, and having encouraged the *Neapolitans*, and confirmed 'em in the good Disposition they were in towards the Romans, he entered *Nola*, where he found great Divisions, the

Senate being unable to restrain the People, who were strongly in the Interest of *Hannibal*. There was in the Town a Person highly renown'd for his personal Valour as well as Nobility of Birth, whose Name was *Bandius*, who had remarkably distinguished himself at the Battle of *Cannæ*; where, after having slain a great Number of *Carthaginians*, he at last lay upon a heap of dead Bodies, sorely wounded. *Hannibal* finding him in this Condition, not only took care of him, and entertained him with great Hospitality, but contracted a Friendship with him, dismissed him without any Ransom at all, and at his Departure loaded him with Presents. *Bandius* out of Gratitude, and in return for so many Favours, espoused *Hannibal's* Interest with great Zeal, and endeavoured all he could to bring over the People to his side. *Marcellus* thought it unjust and wicked to put so eminent a Man to Death, who had fought so often for the *Romans*, and exposed his Life in their Cause. For besides great Probity and Humanity, *Marcellus* had so much Affability and Sweetness of Behaviour, as must needs win upon and gain the Affection of all the World, and especially of an ambitious Man: Wherefore one Day when *Bandius* went to visit him, *Marcellus* ask'd him who he was; not that he was unacquainted with him before, but to gain an Opportunity to introduce what he had a mind to say; and when *Bandius* had told him his Name, *Marcellus* pretending to be surpris'd with Joy and Wonder, said to him, *How! art Thou the Bandius so much talk'd of at Rome for his brave Behaviour at the Battle of Cannæ; who not only did not desert Paulus Emilius the Consul; but even received into his Body several Arrows aim'd at that General? Bandius* owning himself to be that very Person, and shewing his Wounds and Scars; *Why then, said Marcellus, since you have given Us so many Proofs of your Friendship, wou'd you not give me the Pleasure of seeing You at my first Arrival? Do you think Us ungrateful, or ignorant, how to reward the Bravery of our Friends, We, who know how to value and esteem it even in our Enemies?* When he had ended this obliging Discourse,

he

he embraced him, and made him a Present of a fine War Horse, and five hundred *Drachma's* in Silver: From that time forwards, *Bandius* never left him, but appeared very zealous in discovering the Designs, and giving Informations against Those of the contrary Party. These were indeed very numerous, and had form'd a Conspiracy, when the *Romans* were gone out of the City to fight the Enemy, to shut the Gates, to plunder all their Waggon and Baggage, and to surrender themselves to the *Cartbaginians*.

Marcellus being advertised of this Conspiracy, drew up his Army in order of Battle within the City, placed the Baggage in the Rear, and published an Order by sound of Trumpet, forbidding any of the Inhabitants to appear upon the Walls. By this Means *Hannibal* was deceived; for seeing the Walls quite abandoned, he did not doubt but there was a great Sedition in the City, and in that Confidence marched to it with the less Order and Precaution. At that very Moment *Marcellus* commanded that Gate of the City that was directly before 'em to be opened; and issuing out with the Choice of his Horse, he charged the Enemy in Front, and routed them. The very next Moment, a second Gate was opened, through which the Infantry poured forth with loud Shouts and Huzza's. And as *Hannibal* was going to divide his Troops to make head against these last, a third Gate was opened, at which brake forth all the rest of the *Roman* Forces, who fell furiously upon the Enemy, surprised at this unexpected Sally, and who made but a faint Resistance against Those with whom they had been first engaged, by reason of their being warmly attack'd by a second Body.

This was the first time *Hannibal's* Troops fled before the *Roman* Legions, and suffered themselves to be driven back to their Camp in great Consternation, and with prodigious Havock; for *Hannibal* is said to have lost more than five thousand Men, and *Marcellus* not above five hundred. *Livy* does not make this Defeat, or the Numbers slain on the Enemy's Side, to be so consi-

derable; he only allows that this Success raised the Glory of *Marcellus* very high, and inspired the *Romans* with new Courage in the midst of their Misfortunes, by letting them see that the Enemy they fought against was neither invulnerable nor invincible. A Person that had been designed Consul for the ensuing Year happening to be slain, the People called home *Marcellus*, who was absent at that time, to fill his Place, and in spite of the Magistrates, caused the Election to be deferred 'till his Return. As soon as he arrived he was unanimously chosen Consul; but it happening to thunder at that time, the Augurs plainly saw that the Election was not right, but yet durst not oppose it openly for fear of the People; however *Marcellus* laid it down voluntarily: But this did not hinder him from continuing the Command of the Army, for he was elected Proconsul, and returned with all speed to *Nola*, where he chastised all Those that had declared for the *Carthaginians* in his Absence. *Hannibal* made haste to their Assistance, and offered *Marcellus* Battle, which he refused: But some Days after, when he found that *Hannibal*, no longer expecting a Battle, had sent the greatest Part of his Army to forrage and plunder, he attacked him vigorously, having first furnished his Foot with a kind of large Quarter-staffs, such as are used on Ship-board, and likewise taught them how to wound the Enemy with them at a distance; while the *Carthaginians* fought only with very short Swords, or Darts, which they were unskilled in throwing. For this Reason all Those that attempted to make head against them were forced to turn their Backs, and fled in Confusion, leaving five thousand slain upon the Field of Battle; besides four Elephants, two killed, and two taken alive. But what was of still greater Consequence, above three hundred Horse, *Spaniards* and *Numidians*, came over to *Marcellus*; a Misfortune which had never befallen *Hannibal* 'till that time: for tho' his Army was composed of Men of several barbarous Nations, as different in their Manners as Language, he had ever 'till then preserved a good Under-
standing

standing and strict Concord among them. These three hundred Horse always continued inviolably faithful to *Marcellus*, and the Generals that commanded after him.

Marcellus being a third time created Consul, passed over into *Sicily*; for *Hannibal's* great Success had so swell'd the Hopes of the *Cartbaginians* that they entertained Thoughts of re-conquering that Island; and especially since the Death of the Tyrant *Hieronimus* had thrown every thing into Confusion at *Syracuse*; wherefore the *Romans* had already sent an Army thither under the Command of *Appius Claudius*.

As soon as *Marcellus* had taken upon him the Command of the Army in *Sicily*, a great Number of *Romans* came and threw themselves at his Feet imploring his Assistance under their unhappy Circumstances. Of Those that fought at the Battle at *Cannæ*, Some fled, and the Rest were taken Prisoners; and these Latter were so many in Number, that it was said, the *Romans* had not Men enough left to defend the Walls of their City. But yet they had so much Bravery and Greatness of Soul left, that when *Hannibal* offered to release the Prisoners for a very inconsiderable Ransom, they not only refused it, but without giving themselves any further Trouble about them, left them to be kill'd by the Enemy, or sold out of *Italy*; and Those who had saved themselves by Flight they transported into *Sicily*, with an express Command not to return home 'till the War with *Hannibal* was ended.

When *Marcellus* was arrived in that Island, great Numbers of these unfortunate Men addressed to Him, and falling on their Knees before him, with the deepest Lamentations and Floods of Tears begged to be admitted into the Troops, firmly promising to make it appear by their future Behaviour that That Defeat was owing to some Misfortune, and not to their Cowardise. Whereupon *Marcellus*, out of Compassion, wrote to the Senate, desiring Leave to recruit his Troops out of those Exiles, as he should have Occasion. The Senate deliberated a long

long time about the Matter, and at length, after mature Consideration, returned this Answer, *That the Roman Affairs were not reduced to that Extremity, as to stand in need of the Assistance of Cowards; but however, if Marcellus had a mind, he might make use of them, provided he did not bestow on any of them, (whatever they might deserve) a Crown, or any other Gift, as a Reward of their Valour.*

This Answer, which the Senate had passed into a Decree, gave *Marcellus* great Uneasiness; and at his Return to *Rome*, after the War was ended, he expostulated and complained to Them, that after all his Services, they had refused him the Favour to retrieve the Honour, and alleviate the Misfortunes of those poor Citizens.

His first Care, after he came into *Sicily*, was to be revenged on *Hippocrates*, the *Syracusan* General, for his Treachery; who, to shew his Affection to the *Cartaginians*, and by their Means to make himself absolute Lord and Tyrant of all *Sicily*, had, contrary to the Faith of Treaties, attack'd the *Romans* near *Leontium*, and slain great Numbers of them. *Marcellus* therefore marched with his whole Army to besiege that City, and took it by Storm; but offered no manner of Injury or Violence to the Inhabitants, or any Soldiers, except only such Deserters as he found there, whom he ordered to be beaten with Rods, and then put to Death. *Hippocrates* presently sent an Account of This to *Syracuse*, with a large Addition of his own, that *Marcellus* had put both Soldiers and Citizens to the Sword without Distinction, that he had spared None that were able to bear Arms, and had likewise plundered the City; and while the *Syracusians* were under the utmost Fear and Consternation, occasioned by this News, He came suddenly upon them and surprised the City.

Hereupon *Marcellus* marched with his whole Army, and encamping near *Syracuse*, sent Ambassadors thither to acquaint the Inhabitants with the whole Truth of what had happened at *Leontium*; But finding that all he could

could say was to no purpose, and that the *Syracusans* either prepossessed in Favour, or aw'd by the Power of *Hippocrates*, refused to listen to him, he prepared to attack the City both by Sea and Land. *Appius Claudius* commanded the Land Forces, while *Marcellus* with sixty Gallies, each having five Oars in a Seat, provided with all kind of Arms and missile Weapons, and a terrible Machine carried upon eight Gallies fastened together, attacked it by Sea; animated with great Hopes by the Number of his Batteries, the Vastness of his Preparations, and especially by the great Reputation he had acquired in War. But *Archimedes* despised all his Machines and Preparations, which were nothing in comparison to those Engines he invented daily, which he offered, not as Master-pieces, or Things of great Value, but only by way of Amusement and Diversion in his Geometrical Studies. Neither had he gone so far, but at the earnest Request of *Hiero*, who had a long time solicited him to reduce his Speculations into Practice, by employing them about corporeal and sensible Things, and to make his abstracted Reasonings more evident and intelligible to the generality of Mankind, by applying them to things of use.

Endoxus and *Archytus* were the First that invented and put in practice this celebrated, profound, mechanical Knowledge, to give Geometry more Variety and Agreeableness, and to prove by sensible Experiments and the Use of Instruments, such Problems as did not seem capable of Demonstration by Reasoning and Practice; that Problem, for Example, of two proportional middle Lines, which cannot be found out geometrically, and yet are so necessary for the Solution of several other Problems, they resolved mechanically, by the Assistance of certain Instruments called *Mesolabes*, taken from Conick Sections. But when *Plato* grew displeased at them, and reproached them for corrupting and debasing the Excellence of Geometry, by making it descend from incorporeal and intellectual to corporeal and sensible Things, and forcing it to make use of Matter, which
requires

requires manual Labour, and is the Object of low and servile Trades ; from that time the Study of Mechanism was judged beneath the Dignity of Geometry, and separated from it ; and after having been a long time despised by the Philosophers, came to be reckoned a Part of the Military Art.

Archimedes indeed demonstrated one day to King *Hiero*, whose Friend and Kinsman he was, this Proposition, That with any given Force the greatest Weight whatever might be moved ; and confident of the Strength of his Demonstration he ventured further to affirm, that if there was another Earth besides This we inhabit, by going into That, he would move this where-ever he pleased. The King, surpris'd hereat, desired him to evince the Truth of his Proposition by moving some great Weight with a small Force.

Archimedes therefore having caused one of the King's Gallies to be drawn on the Shore, by the Assistance of a great many Hands, and not without much Pains and Trouble, ordered it to be loaded with its usual Burden, and over and above That, to be crowded with as many Men as it could contain ; and then placing himself at some Distance from it, without any Pains or Straining, only by moving with his Hand the End of a Machine with Ropes and Pullies, he drew it to him as smoothly and easily as if it had floated on the Water. The King, astonished at so surprising an Effect, and convinced by it of the wonderful Power of this Art, intreated *Archimedes* to make him several kinds of Engines and Machines that might be useful both Ways, and serve either to defend or attack. These however he never made use of, the greatest Part of his Reign being free from War, and blessed with Tranquillity and Peace ; however they were all ready for the *Syracusians* on this Occasion, and the Artift himself at hand to direct them.

The *Romans* preparing to storm the Walls of *Syracuse* in two places at the same time, an universal Silence and Consternation reigned throughout the City, believing it impossible to withstand such numerous Forces, and so
furious

furious an Assault. But as soon as *Archimedes* began to play his Engines, they shot forth against the Land Forces all kinds of missile Weapons, and Stones of a prodigious Weight with so much Noise, and such an irresistible Rapidity and Force, that nothing was able to stand before them; but they overturned and brake to pieces every thing that came in their way, and caused terrible Disorder among their Ranks. On the side towards the Sea were erected vast Machines, putting forth on a sudden, over the Walls, long grappling Irons, like Main-Sail Yards, which taking hold of some of the Enemies Gallies, they at the same time let fall prodigious Weights upon them, and sunk them at once; Others being hoisted up at the Prows by Iron Hands, or Hooks, like the Beaks of Cranes, and set an end on the Stern, they plunged to the bottom of the Sea. Others again by means of Hooks and Cords they drew towards the Shore, and after whirling them about, dash'd them against the Edges of the Rocks that jutted out below the Walls, and so bruised to pieces All that were on Board. Very often you might have seen (which was indeed a dreadful Sight) Ships raised a great height above the Water, swinging in the Air, and by their being whirled violently round, the Men thrown over the Hatches on every Side, and then either split in Pieces against the Walls, or else let suddenly fall and plunged to the Bottom of the Sea.

As for the Machine which *Marcellus* brought upon eight Gallies, and which was called *Sambuca*, from its Resemblance to a musical Instrument of the same Name, it fared no better than all the rest; for before it came near the Walls, *Archimedes* discharged a vast Piece of a Rock, of ten Talents Weight; after that a Second, and then a Third, All which striking upon it with a mighty Noise and Force broke and overset its Basis, and gave the Gallies such a Shock, as divided and parted them asunder.

Marcellus, doubtful what Course to take, drew off his Gallies as fast as he could, and at the same time sent Orders

Orders to the Forces on Land to do the same. He immediately called a Council of War, in which it was resolved, to come close under the Walls, if it was possible, the next Morning before Day; for *Archimedes's* Engines, they thought, being very strong, and designed for a considerable Distance, would throw all the Stones and Weapons over their Heads; and if they should be pointed at them when they were so near, they would be of very little Service for want of Scope and Room to adjust them to a due Distance and Level, and give them their former Force.

But *Archimedes* had long before provided Machines for all Distances, with suitable Weapons and shorter Beams and Weights, which being more easily managed, were consequently oftner discharged. Besides, he had caused Holes to be made in the Walls, in which he placed Scorpions, for close Fighting, which wounded Those that came near, without being perceiv'd.

When the *Romans* were got close to the Walls, imagining themselves by that means in a good measure screened from the Enemy, they were instantly attack'd from all Parts with a Shower of Darts and all kind of missile Weapons, together with great quantities of Stones and Logs, falling perpendicular upon their Heads, which soon obliged them to retire; but no sooner were they got at a little Distance from the Walls, when a new Shower of all sorts of Weapons overtook them, so that there was a very great slaughter made, and most of their Gallies bruised and dashed in pieces, without being able to do the least Damage, or make the least Impression upon the Enemy. For *Archimedes* had erected and fixed most of his Machines close within the Walls, so that the *Romans* sustaining such infinite Mischief, without seeing either the Place or Hand from whence it came, seem'd, as it were, to fight against the Gods.

However, *Marcellus* escaped this Danger, and laughing at his Engineers and Artists, said, *Shall we continue to fight with this Mechanical Briareus, who lifts our Ships out of the Sea, and plunges them into it again,*
like

like Bowls, for his Diversion, who has given my Sambuca such terrible Buffets, and who, for Numbers of Weapons discharged against us at once, even surpasses the fabulous Story of the Giants with an Hundred Hands? And indeed the Syracusians were All but as the Body of these Machines and Batteries, Archimedes Alone was the Soul that moved them, all other Weapons lay idle and unemployed; His were the only offensive and defensive Arms of the City.

In short, *Marcellus* finding that the *Romans* were seized with so much Terror, that if they only spy'd a small Cord or Piece of Wood above the Walls, they immediately fled, crying out, *That Archimedes was going to let fly some terrible Engine at them*; gave over all Thoughts of taking the City by Storm, and turned the Siege into a Blockade, in order to cut off all their Provisions. However, *Archimedes* had so sublime a Genius, such a Depth of Understanding, and such an inexhaustible Fund of mathematical Knowledge, that he would never condescend to commit to Writing the least Account of these Machines, which he employed with such wonderful Success, and which gained him the Reputation of a Man endued not with Human Science, but Divine Wisdom: But slighting as vile and sordid that Industry in contriving Engines, and accommodating mathematical Knowledge to Use and profitable Practice, placed his whole Study and Delight in those Speculations which are noble and excellent in themselves, the Other being only so with regard to Mens Wants and Necessities, and therefore not to be compared with them. For if the One is to be valued for its Bulk and curious Workmanship, the Other infinitely excels on account of its invincible Force and Conviction. For difficult and abstruse Questions are no where expressed in plainer Terms, or explained on more clear and evident Principles, than in the Writings of *Archimedes*.

Some ascribe This to the natural Brightness of his Understanding, Others to his indefatigable Pains and Industry, by which he made Things that cost much Toil

and Sweat, appear unlaboured and easy. It will be almost impossible for any Man of Himself to find out the Demonstration of his Propositions, but when he has once learnt it from Him, he fancies he might have done it without any Difficulty, so short and easy is his Method of Demonstration. Wherefore we are not to reject as incredible, what is related of him, that being perpetually charmed by a domestick Siren, that is, his Geometry, he neglected his Meat and Drink, and all necessary Care of his Body; and that being carried by Force to the Baths and publick Games, he would make mathematical Figures in the Ashes, and with his Finger draw Lines upon his Body, when it was anointed with Oil; so much was he transported beyond himself with intellectual Delight, and ravished with mathematical Pleasure. And tho' he was the Author of many curious and excellent Discoveries, he is said to have desired his Friends, instead of an Epitaph, to place on his Tombstone a Cylinder containing a Sphere, and set down the *Ratio* which the Contained Solid bears to the Containing.

Archimedes then, being that wonderful Man I have represented him, did all that lay in Him to save both Himself and the City of *Syracuse*, from being taken.

Marcellus leaving *Appius* with two Thirds of the Army before *Syracuse*, marched with the rest to besiege *Megara*, one of the most ancient Cities of *Sicily*, which he took by Storm, sacked, and razed it. A few Days after he fell upon *Hippocrates*, as he was entrenching himself at *Acilæ*, and slew above eight thousand of his Men. About the same time, he over-ran a great Part of *Sicily*, retook several Places that had submitted to the *Carthaginians*, with Whom he had many Engagements, in All which he was constantly victorious.

Some time after This, when he was returned before *Syracuse*, he surprised and took Prisoner *Damippus* a *Lacedæmonian*, as he was going from thence by Sea. The *Syracusians* being very desirous to redeem him, offered his

his Ransom to *Marcellus*, and they had several Meetings and Conferences about it. Upon this Occasion, *Marcellus* observed a Tower into which Soldiers might be privately conveyed, that was carelessly guarded, and the Wall that led to it easy to be scaled. And when he had taken the Height of the Wall, being frequently near it on the Account of these Conferences, and had prepared his Scaling-Ladders, he took the Opportunity to put his Design in Execution, when the *Syracusians* were celebrating a Feast to *Diana* with Wine and Jollity; so that before the Day-light, without being perceived by the Citizens, he not only possess'd himself of the Tower, but filled the Walls all about with Soldiers, and brake open the *Hexapylum*.

The *Syracusians*, awaked by the Noise and Hurry, began to move about in great Confusion; but at the Sound of all the *Roman* Trumpets at once, they were seized with Consternation, and betook themselves to Flight, believing that the whole City was in the possession of the Enemy. But the *Acbradine*, the best and strongest Part of it, was not taken, being divided by Walls from the rest of the City, one Part of which was called *Neapolis* (or new City) and the other *Tyche* (or Fortune).

This Enterprize being thus successfully executed, *Marcellus* about Break of Day entered from the *Hexapylum* into the new City, where all his Captains and Officers came about him to congratulate him on his Success. But for his Part, when from the rising Ground he look'd down and view'd this great and glorious City, he is said to have wept, commiserating the Calamity that hung over it, his Thoughts representing to him how sad and dismal the approaching Scene must be, when it came to be sack'd and plundered. For the Soldiers peremptorily demanded the Plunder of it, and there was not an Officer that durst deny it; nay there were Many who insisted that the City should be burnt and laid level with the Ground, but This *Marcellus* refused to consent to; nor was it without much Reluctancy and Unwillingness that

that he suffered the Riches of the City and the Slaves to become their Prey, strictly commanding 'em at the same time not to touch any Freeman, nor to kill, offer Violence to, or make any Citizen a Slave,

But notwithstanding this great Moderation of *Marcellus*, the City met with so severe a Treatment, that, in the midst of his Joy, he could not help expressing his Grief and Concern, to see so flourishing a State of Grandeur and Felicity vanish in a Moment. The Plunder and Spoils of this City are said to have been no less in Value than those that were seen soon after at *Carthage*. For in a very short time all the other Parts of the City were taken by Treachery, and plunder'd; only the Royal Treasure was preserved, and carried into the publick Treasury at *Rome*.

But what gave *Marcellus* the greatest and most sensible Concern was the unhappy Fate of *Archimedes*, who was at that time in his *Museum*, and his Mind, as well as Eyes, so fixed and intent upon some Geometrical Figures, that he neither heard the Noise and Hurry of the *Romans*, nor perceived that the City was taken. In this Transport of Study and Contemplation, a Soldier came suddenly upon him, and commanded him to follow him to *Marcellus*; which he refusing to do 'till he had finished his Problem, and fitted it for Demonstration; the Soldier, in a Rage, drew his Sword and ran him through. Others write, that *Archimedes* seeing a Soldier come with a drawn Sword to kill him, intreated him to hold his Hand one Moment, that he might not die with the Regret of having left his Problem unfinished, and the Demonstration imperfect; but that the Soldier, without any Regard, either to his Problem or Demonstration, killed him immediately. Others again write, that as *Archimedes* was carrying some Mathematical Instruments in a Box to *Marcellus*, as Sun-Dials, Spheres, and Angles, with which the Eye might measure the Magnitude of the Sun's Body, some Soldiers met him, and believing there was Gold in it, slew him. But what is most certain, and wherein all Historians agree,

is, that *Marcellus* was extremely concerned at his Death ; that he would not so much as look upon his Murderer, detesting him as an execrable Villain ; and that having made a diligent Enquiry after his Relations, he granted them his Protection, and shewed 'em many signal Favours upon his Account.

The *Romans* had hitherto given other Nations sufficient Proof, both of their Courage and Conduct in War, but they had not yet shewn them any illustrious Examples of Justice, Clemency, Humanity, that is in a word, of Political Virtue. *Marcellus* seems to have been the First, who, on this Occasion, shewed the *Greeks* that the *Romans* surpass'd them in Justice, no less than in Conduct and Courage. For such was his Candour and Condescension to All with whom he had any Concern, such his Benignity and Goodness to several Cities and private Persons, that if any thing severe or cruel was committed in the Cities of *Enna*, *Megara* and *Syracuse*, the blame of it is more justly chargeable on the Sufferers themselves, than on those who were the Authors and Instruments of their Suffering. I shall only give one Example out of Many that might be mentioned. There is in *Sicily* a City call'd *Enguium*, which, tho' it be not large, is very ancient, and particularly celebrated for the Appearance of the Goddesses called the *Mothers*. Their Temple is said to have been founded by the *Cretans* ; there they shew large Spears and brazen Helmets, Some of which bear the Name of *Merion*, and others That of *Ulysses*, who consecrated them to these Goddesses. This City greatly favoured the *Carthaginian* Interest ; but *Nicias*, the most eminent of the Citizens, used all his Endeavours to make 'em declare for the *Romans*, speaking his Mind freely at all publick Assemblies, shewing Those on the contrary Side by good Reasons, that they judged wrong, and adhered to an Interest that would prove fatal to their Country.

These Men fearing the Power, Authority, and Reputation of *Nicias*, resolved to seize him and deliver him to the *Carthaginians*. But He, having smelt out their De-

sign, took no Notice at all of it, but guarded against it after this manner: He uttered several Things disrespectful and injurious to the Goddeses, seeming to deny the received Opinion of their Appearance among 'em, and to charge it with Fable and Imposture. His Enemies were overjoyed to see that he Himself had furnished them with Reasons sufficient to justify whatever they should act against him.

When the Day agreed on to seize him was come, there happened to be a Publick Assembly in the City, and *Nicias* was in the Midst of the People haranguing 'em, and giving his Advice concerning some Affair then under Deliberation: When, all on a sudden, in the very middle of his Discourse, he fell flat on the Ground, and after having lain there some Time without speaking, as tho' he had been in a Trance, he raised his Head, turning it this way and that way, and began to speak with a feeble trembling Voice, which he raised by degrees; and when he perceived the whole Assembly struck with Horror and a profound Silence, he rose up, threw off his Mantle, and tearing his Coat in pieces, ran half naked towards one of the Doors, crying out that the *Mother*s avenging Furies pursued him. A religious Fear detained every Body from laying Hands on him or stopping him, so that he reached one of the City Gates without Opposition, no longer Counterfeiting by the least Word or Action, a Man mad or possess'd. His Wife, who was in the Secret, and assisted in the Stratagem, taking her Children in her Arms, ran first of all and prostrated herself as a Suppliant to the Goddeses at their Altar; then pretending to find out her Husband who was wandring about the Fields, she got safely out of the Town without any Hindrance at all, and so they both made their Escape to *Marcellus* at *Syracuse*.

Some Days after this, *Marcellus* entring *Enguim*, caused all the Inhabitants to be loaded with Irons, in order to punish 'em for their Insolence and Treachery. But *Nicias*, who had attended him, came and address'd himself to him, and falling on his Knees with Tears in his Eyes,

Eyes, and kissing his Hands, ask'd Pardon for all th Citizens, and in the first Place for his Enemies. Hered upon *Marcellus* relenting, set them all at Liberty, an hinder'd his Soldiers from committing any Disorder in the City, bestowing on *Nicias* a large Tract of Land and many rich Presents. This is the Account given by *Pofidonius* the Philosopher.

Marcellus, after This, being recalled by the *Romans* to conduct a War nearer Home, carried away with him at his Departure the finest Statues, Paintings and Furniture in *Syracuse*; first to be made use of to embellish and illustrate his Triumph, and then to be preserved as lasting Ornaments to the City. For before that time, *Rome* had never seen or known any superfluous Curiosities, nor were any Rarities or exquisite Pieces of Art, that shew an elegant and polite Taste, to be found there. Instead of which were then to be seen Arms taken from the *Barbarians*, and Spoils stained with Blood, and with triumphal Ornaments and Trophies, she presented to the View a dreadful and ghastly Sight, no way fit to entertain the Eyes of nice and delicate Spectators. And as *Epaminondas* called the Plains of *Bœotia*, the *Orchestra*, or Stage of *Mars*, and *Xenophon* styled *Ephesus* the Arsenal of War, so in my opinion, *Rome* might then have been called (to use the Words of *Pindar*) the Palace of *Mars*.

For this Reason *Marcellus* became the Favourite of the People, because he had made the City a delightful Spectacle, by adorning it with Rarities and Ornaments, expressing the curious Arts and politer Taste of *Greece*; whereas the more Judicious esteemed *Fabius Maximus*, who, after he had taken *Tarentum*, brought no such Things from thence, but contented himself with their Gold and Silver and other useful Riches, leaving the Pictures and Statues of the Gods in their Places, and saying upon that Occasion these memorable Words, *Let us leave to the Tarentines their offended Deities*. They charged *Marcellus*, in the first place, with having exposed *Rome* to the Envy, as well as Enmity of Man-kind,

kind, by leading not only Men, but even the Gods in Triumph; and then that he had spoiled a People bred up and inur'd to Husbandry and War, wholly unacquainted with Luxury and Sloth, and, as *Euripides* said of *Hercules*, rough and unpolished, yet highly fit for great and arduous Undertakings, by furnishing them with an Occasion of Idleness and Prattling; for they now began to waste the best Part of their Time, in viewing the *Grecian* Rarities, admiring the Excellency of the Workmanship, and disputing about the Superiority of the Artists. But notwithstanding this Censure, this was the very Thing *Marcellus* gloried most in, and That before the *Greeks* themselves, namely, that He was the first that taught the *Romans* to admire and value the *Grecian* Arts, and gave them a Taste and Relish for those exquisite Performances, which they never understood before.

Finding at his Return that his Enemies opposed his Triumph, and considering that the War in *Sicily* was not quite finished, and that his former Triumph had raised the Envy of the Citizens, he was content to proceed in Triumph on Mount *Alba* only, and to enter the City in a sort of Triumph, by the *Greeks* called *Evan*, and by the *Romans* *Ovation*. The Person to whom this kind of Triumph was allowed, did not ride in a triumphal Chariot drawn by four Horses, nor was he crowned with Laurel, or had Trumpets sounding before him; but he went on Foot, in Slippers, with Flutes playing before him, and a Crown of Myrtle on his Head, which was a Sight that carried no Appearance of War, and was rather delightful than terrible. And This, in my Opinion, is a plain Proof that heretofore the difference between a *Triumph* and an *Ovation*, did not arise from the Greatness of the Achievement, but the Manner of its Performance; for They that conquered the Enemy with mighty Slaughter and Effusion of Blood were honoured with the first Kind of military and terrible Triumph, in which both the Soldiers and their Armour were crowned with Laurel, as was usual in the Ceremony of lustrating

or purifying a Camp : But to such Generals as succeeded in their Enterprises without Force, merely by their Prudence and power of Persuasion, the Law allowed the Honour of that civil pacifick Entry, called *Ovation*. For the Flute is an Instrument of Peace, and the Myrtle the Plant of *Venus*, who, more than all the other Deities, abhors Violence and War.

That kind of Triumph therefore called *Ovation*, is not derived, as most Authors think, from the Word *Evan*, signifying a Song of Joy, because of the shouting and singing with which it was accompanied, for they did the same at the other Triumph ; but the *Greeks* have wrested it from a Word well known in their Language, believing that this Show relates in some measure to *Bacchus*, whom they call *Evius* and *Tbriambus* : But neither of these is the Truth. It was customary among the *Romans* at the greater Triumph to sacrifice an Ox, but at the Other only a Sheep, which in *Latin* is called *Ovis*, and from thence comes the Word *Ovation*. 'Tis worth our while on this Occasion to observe the Conduct of the *Spartan* Legislator, who enacted Laws directly opposite to the *Roman*. For at *Lacedæmon* a General who had succeeded in his Undertaking by Art or Persuasion, sacrificed an Ox, but He that succeeded only by Force of Arms, offered a Cock ; for though they were a very brave and warlike People, yet they thought such Achievements as were owing to Eloquence and Wisdom more suitable to the Dignity of Man, and much more worthy of Honour than Those that were affected only by Violence and Slaughter. But which of the two has the best Reasons to support it, I leave to the Determination of Others.

Marcellus being a fourth time chosen Consul, his Enemies persuaded the *Syracusians* to come to *Rome* and accuse him before the Senate of several Acts of Injustice and Cruelty, contrary to the League between Them and the *Romans*.

On the Day of their Arrival *Marcellus* happened to be offering Sacrifice in the Capitol. The *Syracusan* Deputies

Deputies went directly to the Senate, who were then sitting, and falling on their Knees besought them to hear their Complaints and do them Justice. The other Consul, who was there present, took *Marcellus's* Part, and reproved the Complaints, for preferring their Petition during his Colleague's Absence. But when *Marcellus* heard what was in Agitation, he made haste to the Senate, and taking his Place there, dispatched the ordinary Affairs of his Office ; after which, he rose from his Seat, and as a private Man went into the Place where the Accused were used to make their Defence, submitting to the Accusation of the *Syracusians*, and giving them free Liberty to make good their Charge.

The *Syracusan* Deputies were at first struck and confounded at his Unconcern and the Dignity of his Appearance ; and 'tho the Power of his Presence, when in Armour, was awful and tremendous, they found it much more terrible now even in Consular Purple. However being animated and encouraged by his Enemies, they laid open their Accusation in a Speech full of Lamentations and Complaints ; the Sum of all which was, *That Marcellus had made them suffer such things as other Generals seldom inflict on a conquered Enemy.*

To this *Marcellus* answered, *That notwithstanding all the Injuries they had done the Romans, they had suffered nothing but what it was impossible to protect an Enemy from, when a City was taken by Storm ; and that 'twas their own Fault, they were so taken, by having rejected such reasonable Proposals, as had been offered them ; that they could not urge in their Excuse, that they had been forced by the Tyrants to take Arms, since they had voluntarily submitted to those Tyrants on purpose to make War.*

When the Reasons had been heard on both Sides, the Deputies, according to Custom, were ordered to withdraw ; *Marcellus* likewise did the same, leaving his Colleague to take the Senators Votes, he himself waiting at the Door without any sign of Concern about the Event, or Resentment against the *Syracusians*, nor any way in the

the least discomposed, but with great Civility and Modesty attending the Issue of the Cause.

After the Votes were taken, and Judgment pronounced in favour of *Marcellus*, the *Syracusians* came and threw themselves at his Feet, beseeching him with Tears in their Eyes to forget his just Resentments, and to pardon not only Them that were there present, but likewise all the rest of the Citizens, who would always retain a grateful Acknowledgment and Remembrance of his Favours. *Marcellus* moved by their Tears and Intreaties generously forgave them, received them into Favour, and from thenceforward continued to do the rest of the *Syracusians* all the good Offices he was able. The Senate ratified all that *Marcellus* had done, confirmed the Laws and Liberties he had restored to them, and secured them in the Possession of their Goods and Estates. The *Syracusians* in return decreed *Marcellus* all imaginable Honours, and made a particular Law, that when either He, or any of his Family came into *Sicily*, the *Syracusians* with Chaplets on their Heads should in a solemn manner offer Sacrifice to the Gods.

After This, *Marcellus* was sent against *Hannibal*. Since the Battle of *Canna* the other Consuls and Generals had used no other Policy against the *Carthaginians* but only to avoid coming to a Battle, none of them daring to engage, or even to come within sight of them. But *Marcellus* took a quite contrary Course, being fully persuaded that Delay, which was thought the best way to ruin and destroy *Hannibal*, would imperceptibly waste and consume *Italy*; and that *Fabius*, with his slow Maxims of Care and Caution, did not pursue a right Method to cure the Disorders of his Country; for before he could put an End to the War, *Rome* would be consumed and reduced to Ashes: Like an unskilful Physician, that out of Fear delays giving his Patient strong, but necessary Physick, till his Spirits are quite exhausted, and Nature sunk beyond the Possibility of a Recovery.

His

His first Success was the Retaking the chief Cities of the *Samnites* that had revolted from the *Romans*, in which he found great Quantities of Corn and Money; and, at the same time, three thousand of *Hannibal's* Soldiers, which he had left for the Defence of those Places, were made Prisoners. After this *Cneus Fulvius* the Proconsul, with eleven other Commanders, being slain by *Hannibal* in *Apulia*, and the whole Army entirely defeated, *Marcellus* dispatched Letters to *Rome* to animate and encourage the People, assuring them that he was actually upon his March against *Hannibal*, in order to drive him out of the Country. *Livy* informs us, that the Reading of these Letters was so far from lessening their Concern, that it increased their Fears; for they were in more Pain for their present Danger than past Loss, as they accounted *Marcellus* a greater General than *Fulvius*.

He then advancing, as he had written, to give *Hannibal* Battle, marched into *Lucania*, where he found the Enemy encamped on inaccessible Heights near the City of *Numistro*. *Marcellus* continued with his Army all Night in the Plain, and the next Day, to shew his Resolution and Design, drew it up in order of Battle. *Hannibal* did not refuse this Offer, but coming down from the Hills, a Battle immediately ensued, which, tho' not decisive, was yet very terrible and bloody; for it began at three in the Afternoon, and continued 'till the Darkness of the Night put a Stop to it. The next Morning at break of Day *Marcellus* drew up his Army again among the dead Bodies, on the Field of Battle, and challenged *Hannibal* to renew the Fight, and decide the Contest. But *Hannibal* chose rather to draw off; whereupon *Marcellus*, after he had caused the Spoils of the Enemy to be gathered, and the Bodies of his dead Soldiers to be burnt, marched in Pursuit of him. And tho' *Hannibal* laid several Ambuscades for him in his March, by his prudent Conduct he escaped them All, and had the Advantage in every Skirmish and Encounter; which so much heightened his Reputation at *Rome*, that

on

on the Approach of the *Comitia* to appoint new Consuls, the Senate judged it more advisable to recal *Lævinus*, the other Consul, from *Sicily*, than to give *Marcellus* the least Interruption, who was so successfully employed against *Hannibal*. As soon as *Lævinus* arrived, he was ordered to name *Quintus Fulvius* Dictator; for the Dictator is neither named by the Senate or the People, but one of the Consuls or Generals advancing forward in the midst of the Assembly, names whomsoever he pleases; and the Person named is called *Dictator*, from the Word *Dicere*, which, in the *Latin*, signifies to name. Others will have it that he is called Dictator because he refers nothing to the Suffrages of the People, or a Plurality of Voices, but judges and determines every thing as he pleases by virtue of his own Authority: For the Magistrates Commands, which the *Greeks* style *Orders*, are by the *Romans* called *Edicts*.

Lævinus had a mind to name another Person Dictator, and not *Fulvius*, who was presented to him by the Senate; and because he would not be obliged to act contrary to his Opinion, he left *Rome* by Night, and sailed back for *Sicily*. Whereupon the People named *Q. Fulvius* Dictator, and the Senate at the same time wrote to *Marcellus* to confirm their Nomination, which he did; after which he Himself was continued in his Command, and appointed Proconsul for the following Year.

After this having agreed with *Fabius Maximus* the Consul, by Letters, that *Fabius* should besiege *Tarentum*, while he watched *Hannibal's* Motions so carefully as to prevent his relieving that Place, he marched after him with all Diligence, and came up with him at *Canusum*; and as *Hannibal* shifted his Camp every Day to decline coming to a Battle, *Marcellus* pursued him closely, encamping constantly in his Sight, and appearing every Morning in a Readiness to engage him.

But at last coming unexpectedly upon him, as his Army was encamping in a Plain, he so harassed his Pioneers by little Skirmishes, that at length a general

Battle ensued ; but the Night parted them again. Early the next Morning the Romans came out of their Intrenchments, and presented themselves once more in order of Battle ; which so provoked and enraged Hannibal, that calling all the Carthaginians together, he made a Speech to them, in which he conjured them valiantly to fight one Battle more, to maintain the Reputation they had already gained, and to confirm to themselves the Fruits of all their former Victories : *For you see, said he, after all our Successes, and notwithstanding we are so lately come off Conquerors, we are scarce allowed room to breathe, nor are we like to enjoy any manner of Quiet, unless we drive this Man back.*

Immediately after this both Armies charged with great Fury ; and the Event shewed that Marcellus's Miscarriage on this Occasion was owing to an improper and ill-tim'd Motion. For seeing his right Wing pressed hard, he commanded one of his Legions to advance from the Rear to the Front, which occasioning a Disorder and Confusion among his Troops, gave the Victory to the Enemy, above two thousand Romans being slain upon the Spot. When Marcellus had retreated into his Camp, he summoned the whole Army together, and said, *he saw the Arms of Romans, and the Bodies of Men before him, but not so much as one Roman.* And when they asked him Pardon for their Fault, he told them, *they must not expect it so long as they continued beaten, but that he would grant it as soon as they had conquered ; and that he would lead them to Battle again the next Day, that the News of their Victory might arrive at Rome before That of their Flight.* When he dismiss'd them, he gave Orders that Barley, instead of Wheat, should be given to those Companies that had turned their Backs and lost their Colours.

This Discourse made such an Impression upon the Soldiers, that tho' many of them had suffered very much, and were sorely wounded, yet there was not a Man among them All, to whom the General's Words were not more cutting and painful than his Wounds.

Early

Early the next Morning the Scarlet Vestment, which was the Signal of Battle, was hung out; the Companies that came off with Dishonour in the last Engagement, at their earnest Request obtain'd Leave to be placed in the foremost Line; after which the Officers drew up the rest of the Troops in their proper Form and Order. When this was told to *Hannibal*, he cry'd out, *O ye Gods! what is to be done with a Man, who can neither endure good nor bad Fortune? He is the only Man, who, when Conqueror, gives his Enemies no Rest, and when conquer'd, takes None himself. We must e'en resolve to fight with him for ever, whether successful or not; for the Shame of a Defeat always inspires him with new Courage, and spurs him on to further Attempts.*

The Trumpets immediately sounded to Battle, and both Armies engaged with Fury. *Hannibal* seeing the Advantage equal on both sides, commanded the Elephants to be brought up, and driven against the Van of the Roman Army; which at first caused some Terror and Confusion amongst the foremost Ranks: But *Flavius* a Tribune snatching an Ensign from one of the Companies, advanced, and with the Point of it wounded the foremost Elephant, whereupon the Beast turning back ran upon the Second, and the Second upon the next that followed, and so on, 'till they were All put into Disorder. As soon as *Marcellus* perceived This, he commanded his Horse to fall on, and second the Confusion the Elephants had caused, and by driving them farther on, quite overset the Enemy. The Cavalry, according to his Orders, attack'd the *Cartaginians* furiously, driving them back to their Intrenchments, and making a most grievous Slaughter; to which the Elephants contributed not a little, bruising Some in pieces by falling on them, trampling More under their Feet, and stopping the Flight of Others. Eight thousand *Cartaginians* were slain in this Battle; and on the Roman side three thousand, and almost all the rest wounded. By this means *Hannibal* had an Opportunity to decamp by Night, and remove to a good Dis-

stance from *Marcellus*, who, by reason of his wounded Men, was not in a Condition to pursue him, but retired with his Army by slow and easy Marches into *Campania*, and passed the Summer at *Sinuessa*, to recover and refresh his Soldiers.

Hannibal having thus got clear of the Enemy, his Army acted in every respect as if they had been at full Liberty, and under no manner of Restraint; for they over-ran the several Parts of *Italy* round about, ravaging and burning all before them. This gave occasion to evil Reports concerning *Marcellus*, and caused Murmurings against him at *Rome*; and his Enemies taking this Opportunity incited one *Publius Bibulus*, a Tribune of the People, a Man of Heat and Passion, and no contemptible Orator, to bring an Accusation against him. This Man had exclaimed against him publicly on several Occasions, and at this time used all his Endeavours to have the Command of the Army taken from him, and given to some other Person: For *Marcellus*, said he, *having exercised himself a little against Hannibal, has left the Stage of Battle, and is gone to the Baths, to refresh himself after his Fatigue.*

Marcellus having received advice of these Practices, committed the Charge of the Army to his Lieutenants, and hastened to *Rome* to refute the false Accusations of his Enemies. At his Arrival he found a Charge drawn up against him, founded on those Calumnies. And when the Day of Hearing was come, and the People were assembled in the *Flaminian Circus*, *Bibulus* ascended the Tribune's Seat, and accused him with great Vehemence. *Marcellus's* Answer was plain and short; but the great Men and chief of the Citizens undertook his Defence very warmly, and spoke with great Liberty and Freedom, advising the People not to shew themselves worse Judges than the Enemy, by accusing *Marcellus* of Cowardise, who was the only General they had whom *Hannibal* took care to avoid, and constantly endeavoured not to be engaged with, tho' he courted it with all the rest.

When

When they had ended their Pleadings on both Sides, the Accuser's Hopes of obtaining Judgment against *Marcellus* were so far defeated, that he was not only acquitted, but a fifth time chosen Consul.

As soon as he had entered upon his Office, he went to all the Cities of *Tuscany*, where, by his Presence only, without the Assistance of any Troops, he allay'd a very dangerous and seditious Commotion, that tended to a Revolt. At his Return he had a mind to dedicate to Honour and Virtue the Temple he had caused to be built out of the Spoils brought from *Sicily*, but was hinder'd by the Priests, who thought it unbecoming the Honour due to the Gods, that one Temple should contain two Deities; he therefore begun the building of another to *Virtue*, highly displeased at the Opposition he had met with, reckoning it an ill Omen.

Several other Prodigies happened at the same time, which troubled him very much; some of the Temples were struck with Thunder, and the Gold in That of *Jupiter* was gnawed with Rats: And it was likewise reported, that an Ox had spoke; and that a Child had been born with an Elephant's Head, and was still alive; and in all the Expiatory Sacrifices that were offered on that occasion there was not One that manifested any favourable Tokens; wherefore the Augurs detained him still at *Rome*, notwithstanding his Ardour and Impatience to be gone; for never was Man inflamed with so great a desire of any thing in this World, as *Marcellus* was to bring *Hannibal* to a decisive Battle. This was the Object of his Dreams in the Night, and the constant Subject of his Conversation all Day with his Friends and Collegues: Nor did he make any other Request to the Gods, but that they would permit him to come to a thorough Engagement with that General. Nay, I verily believe he would gladly have encountered him in a single Combat at the Head of both Armies; and had not his Fame in War been thoroughly established, and the Proofs he had given, that for Prudence and Discretion he was inferior to no One whatever,

been flagrant and incontestable, one would have thought he had been transported by a juvenile Heat and Ambition beyond what became a Person of his Age, for he was above sixty when he was chosen Consul the fifth time.

However as soon as the Diviners had finish'd such Sacrifices and Expiations as they judg'd proper, He and his Colleague left *Rome*, in order to carry on the War against *Hannibal*; and encamping between the Cities of *Bantia* and *Venusia*, he us'd all the ways he cou'd to provoke *Hannibal* to a Battle. This, *Hannibal* very industriously avoided; but having received Intelligence that the Consuls were about to send Troops to besiege the City of the *Epizephyrians*, or western *Locrians*, he prepar'd an Ambuscade on their way near the Hill of *Petelia*, and slew two thousand five hundred of their Men. This enrag'd *Marcellus* beyond measure, and heighten'd his desire of coming to a Battle, so that he remov'd his Camp nearer to the Enemy.

Between the two Armies was a little Hill, whose Ascent was pretty steep; it was cover'd with Bushes and Thickets, and on its Sides were Holes and hollow Places, from whence issued Springs and Currents of Water.

The *Romans* admir'd that *Hannibal* coming first to so commodious a Place, shou'd not take possession of it, but leave it for the Enemy. But if *Hannibal* judg'd it a proper Place for a Camp, he thought it much fitter for Ambuscades; and to that Use he chose to put it. To this end, he fill'd the Thickets and Hollows with Archers and Spearmen, not doubting but so advantageous a Situation wou'd entice the *Romans* thither. Nor was he mistaken in his Conjecture; for immediately This became the sole subject of Discourse all over the *Roman* Camp; and, as if they had been all Generals, every one was setting forth the Advantage they shou'd have over the Enemy by seizing on this Post, or at least raising a Fortification on it. *Marcellus*, mov'd at their discourse, thought fit to go Himself with some Horse

Horse to take a view of the Place; but before he went, order'd a Sacrifice to be offer'd. In the first Victim that was slain, the Diviner shew'd him the Liver without a Head; in the Second, the Head of the Liver seem'd to grow plump and large all at once, and all the other Parts appear'd fresh and promising; so that all the Fears and Apprehensions occasion'd by the First, seem'd quite remov'd and swallow'd up by the great Hopes arising from the Last. But the Diviners thought otherwise, and declar'd that this only serv'd to increase their Fears; for whenever fair and auspicious Signs appear immediately after such as were imperfect and ill-boding, such a Change all on a sudden is very doubtful and suspicious; for, as *Pindar* says,

Nor Fire nor brazen Walls can ward off Fate.

Marcellus therefore leaving his Camp in order to view the Place, took with him his Colleague *Crispinus*, his Son *Marcellus* who was a Tribune of Soldiers, and about two hundred and twenty Horse, among which there was not one *Roman*; but they were all *Tuscans*, except forty *Fregellians*, of whose Fidelity, Affection and Courage he had receiv'd signal and undoubted Proofs. On the top of the Hill, which, as we said before, was woody, and full of Brambles, was plac'd a Centinel, who, without being discern'd by the *Romans*, saw plainly all the Motions of their Army. They that lay in Ambush had Intelligence from Him of every thing that pass'd; and therefore lay close 'till *Marcellus* had reach'd the Foot of the Hill, when on a sudden they all rush'd out upon him, letting fly at him a shower of Arrows, and charging him on all sides with their Swords and Spears. Some pursued Those that fled, and Others attack'd Such as stood their Ground: These were the forty *Fregellians*; for the *Tuscans* ran away at the first Charge. These clos'd themselves together in a Body, to defend and save the Consuls; 'till *Crispinus* being wounded by two Arrows, turn'd his Horse to
make

make his Escape; and *Marcellus* being run quite through the Body with a Lance, fell down dead: then the few *Fregellians* that remain'd, leaving *Marcellus's* Body there, carry'd off his Son, who was already wounded, and fled with him to the Camp.

In this Skirmish there were not above forty Men slain; eighteen were taken Prisoners, besides five Lictors. *Crispinus* died of his Wounds a few days after. Never did such a Disaster befall the *Romans* before, to lose both their Consuls in one Engagement. *Hannibal* made little account of this Defeat, or the Prisoners that were taken; but when he heard that *Marcellus* was slain, he hasten'd to the Place of Battle, and coming near his Body, view'd it for some time, admiring its Strength and Mien; but without speaking one insulting Word, or expressing the least Sign of Joy at the Fall of so great and formidable an Enemy. He seem'd indeed surpris'd at the strange and undeserved Death of so great a Man, and taking his Signet from his Finger, commanded that his Body should be magnificently adorn'd and burnt; his Ashes put into a silver Urn with a Crown of Gold upon it, and sent to his Son. But certain *Numidians* meeting Those that carried 'em, and falling upon them to take away the Urn, while the Others stood upon their Guard to defend 'em, it happen'd that in the Struggle the Ashes were spilt. When This was told to *Hannibal*, he said to Those about him, *You plainly see, 'tis impossible to do any thing against the Will of God.* He punish'd the *Numidians* for what they had done, but took no further Care to collect his Ashes, believing that 'twas decreed by the Gods that *Marcellus* shou'd die after so strange manner, and his Remains be deny'd the Honour of a Burial. This is what *Cornelius Nepos* and *Valerius Maximus* write; but *Livy* and *Augustus* affirm that the Urn was carried to his Son *Marcellus*, and honour'd with a magnificent Funeral. *Marcellus's* publick Donations, besides what he dedicated at *Rome*, were a magnificent *Gymnasium*, or Wrestling-Place, at *Catana*, in *Sicily*; several Statues
and

and Pictures brought from *Syracuse*, which he set up in the Temple of the Gods call'd *Cabiri* in the Island of *Samothracia*, and in the Temple of *Minerva* at *Lindum*; in which Last there was likewise a Statue of *Marcellus* with this Inscription, as *Possidonius* the Philosopher relates.

Behold here, Passenger, the Representation of Him, who was the Glory of his Country, Claudius Marcellus, who had been Seven times Consul, and often dyed the Earth with hostile Blood.

The Author of this Inscription adds to the Dignity of Consul That of Proconsul, with which he was twice honour'd. His Family flourish'd and continued in Grandeur and Honour even to *Marcellus*, who was the Son of *Caius Marcellus* and of *Octavia*, Sister to the Emperor *Augustus*; but he died very young, having been first *Ædile*, and married *Julia* the Emperor's Daughter, with whom he liv'd but a short time. In honour of Him, his Mother *Octavia* dedicated a Library, and *Augustus* a Theatre, which were call'd the Library and Theatre of *Marcellus*.



The Comparison of MARCELLUS with PELOPIDAS.

THESE are the most remarkable Things we find in Story concerning *Marcellus* and *Pelopidas*, between Whom there was a perfect Resemblance in their Tempers and Behaviour: They were both Men of uncommon Strength of Body, courageous, and of indefatigable Industry; but there was this Difference, *Marcellus* in most of the Cities which he took by Assault suffer'd great Slaughter to be committed, whereas *Epaminondas* and *Pelopidas* never spilt the Blood of any Man they had conquer'd, nor

depriv'd

depriv'd any City they took of its Liberty. And 'tis affirm'd with great Assurance that if Either of them had been present, the *Thebans* had never enslav'd the *Orcbomenians*.

As to their martial Exploits, nothing can be greater or more glorious than what *Marcellus* perform'd against the *Gauls*, when with a handful of Horse only, he defeated and routed a powerful Army of Horse and Foot, which you will scarce find to have been done by any other General, and slew their King with his own Hand. *Pelopidas* attempted something of the like nature, but fail'd, and lost his Life in the Attempt. However, the famous Battles of *Leuctra* and *Tegyra* may justly be compar'd to those Exploits of *Marcellus*. But for Stratagem and Circumvention, there is nothing in all the History of *Marcellus* that can be compar'd to what *Pelopidas* did at his Return from Exile, when he slew the *Theban* Tyrants; nor indeed is there any Exploit effected by Artifice and Surprise that can equal it.

It will perhaps be said, that the *Romans* had to do with *Hannibal*, who was a very formidable Enemy; but were not the *Thebans* engag'd against the *Lacedæmonians*? And 'tis certain, that they were defeated by *Pelopidas* at *Leuctra* and *Tegyra*; whereas *Hannibal*, according to *Polybius*, was never once beaten by *Marcellus*, but continued invincible, 'till he was undertaken by *Scipio*. But we rather believe, with *Livy*, *Cornelius Nepos*, and *Cæsar*, the *Latin* Historians, and with King *Juba* among the *Greeks*, that *Marcellus* in some Battles did defeat and put to Flight *Hannibal's* whole Army; tho' the Advantages he gain'd were not of that Weight and Consequence to turn the Balance considerably on his side: On the contrary, they seem only to have been Lures or Baits, lay'd by the *Carthaginians* to ensnare him. But what has been very justly admir'd, and can never be sufficiently applauded is, that notwithstanding the Defeat of so many Armies, the Slaughter of so many Generals, and the almost total Subversion of their whole Empire, *Marcellus* still inspir'd the *Romans* with
such

such Confidence and Courage, that they never declin'd coming to an Engagement with the Enemy. In short, *Marcellus* was the only Person that not only remov'd that Consternation and Dread they had long lain under, but possess'd 'em with an eager Desire of Battle, and rais'd their Spirits to that height, that they wou'd never easily yield, but always dispute the Victory with Obstinacy and Resolution. For those very Men, whom constant ill Success had accusom'd to think themselves happy, if they could but save their Lives by flying from the Enemy, He taught to be asham'd of coming off with Disadvantage, to blush at the very thought of giving Way, and losing but an Inch of Ground, and to be very sensibly affected as oft as they came short of Victory. As *Pelopidas*, all the time he commanded, never lost one Battle, and *Marcellus* won more than any General of his Time, it will perhaps be thought that the great Numbers of his Victories ought to put him on a level with *Pelopidas*; who was never once beaten.

On the other hand, *Marcellus* took *Syracuse*, whereas *Pelopidas* cou'd never make himself Master of *Sparta*; tho', in my Opinion, the taking of *Syracuse* was not so great an Action as advancing to the Walls of *Sparta*, and being the First that pass'd the River *Eurotas* with an Army; unless it may be said, that *Epaminondas* had at least an equal Share in the Glory of This, as well as of the Battle at *Leuctra*; whereas the Renown *Marcellus* gain'd was solely and entirely his Own. He alone took the City of *Syracuse*, He defeated the *Gauls* without the Help of his Colleague, He made head against *Hannibal*, not only without the Assistance of any other General, but even when All the rest endeavour'd to dissuade him from it, and to infect him with their Fears; so that 'twas He alone that quite chang'd the Face of the War, gave the *Romans* an Example of a bold and daring Resolution, and taught 'em to make a brave and intrepid Stand against the Enemy.

As to their Deaths, I commend Neither of them; nor can I but lament so sad a Fate. On the contrary,

I admire *Hannibal*, who in all the Battles he fought, which 'twou'd be tiresome to relate, never receiv'd one Wound; and I both esteem and applaud *Chrysantes* in the *Cyropædia*, who having his Sword lifted up and going to strike, upon hearing the Trumpets sound a Retreat, calmly and modestly retir'd, without giving the Stroke. But what may plead *Pelopidas's* Excuse is, that besides being transported and hurried on by the Heat of Battle, his heroick Ardor was further inflam'd by a brave and noble Desire of Revenge. So that, as *Euripides* says, 'Tis highly great and meritorious in a General to win a Victory, and come off safe. But if he must die, 'tis glorious to fall; surrendring his Life into the Hands of Virtue; for by that means it becomes an active not a passive Death. Besides, the Anger and Resentment with which *Pelopidas* was fir'd, and the End propos'd in conquering, which was the Death of a Tyrant, was an Excuse for his Rashness; for it was not easy for him to meet with another Opportunity so glorious and honourable.

But as to *Marcellus*, the Case is quite different; he lay under no urgent Necessity, he was not carry'd away by that Fury and Enthusiasm that stifles Reason, and shuts the Eyes in the greatest Danger; but he threw himself headlong into it, and died, not like a General, but like a Scout, or Spy, intrusting his five Consulates, his three Triumphs, the Spoils of Kings, with all his Trophies and Laurels, to a Company of *Spanish* and *Numidian* Adventurers, mercenary Wretches, that had sold their Lives to the *Carthaginians* for Hire: an Accident so strange and surprising, that they in some measure even envy'd themselves such an unhop'd-for piece of Success, that the bravest, most powerful and most renown'd of all the *Romans* shou'd fall by their Hands at the Head of a few *Fregellanian* Scouts.

But let it not be thought that what I have said here is design'd as an Accusation against these great Men, but rather as a Complaint to them of the Injury done Themselves in preferring their Courage to all their other
Virtues,

Virtues, and as a free Expostulation with 'em for being so prodigal of their Lives, when they ought rather to have preserv'd them for the sake of their Allies, their Country, and their Friends.

In short, *Pelopidas* was bury'd by his Friends, in whose Cause he was slain, and *Marcellus* by those very Enemies that slew him. The former was a Happiness that might be envy'd ; but the End of the Latter was more great and glorious : since 'tis much more for an Enemy to admire and honour that Virtue by which he has suffer'd, than for a Friend to be thankful for That, which has been beneficial to him. In the first case the Honour is pure and sincere, without the least Mixture or Allay ; in the last, more Regard is had to Interest or Necessity, than to real Worth and Virtue.





THE
L I F E
O F
A R I S T I D E S.



Aristides, the Son of *Lyfimachus*, was of the Tribe of *Antiochis*, and Borough of *Alopece*: But concerning his Wealth or Estate, Authors are not agreed. Some affirm that he was always very poor, and that he left two Daughters behind him, who remained a long time unmarried by reason of their Poverty: But *Demetrius* the *Phalerean* contradicts this general Opinion in his *Socrates*, and affirms, that he knew a Farm at *Phalera*, that went by *Aristides's* Name, where he was buried; and to shew the wealthy Condition of his Family produces three Proofs; the first was the Office of that *Archon*, by whose Name the Year was distinguished, and which fell to Him by Lot; to which Office None were admitted but Such as, by the Valuation of their Estates, appeared to be of greatest Eminency, and who having an Income of five hundred Measures of Corn, or some other Produce, were call'd *Pentacosmedimnoi*. The second Proof is the Ostracism, or ten Years Banishment, which was never inflicted on the meaner Sort, but only upon Persons of Quality and Distinction, whose Grandeur and Authority

Authority expos'd them to the Envy of the People. The third and last Proof he brings are the Tripods *Aristides* dedicated in the Temple of *Bacchus*, as Offerings for his Victory at the Publick Games, which continue there to this Day, with this Inscription on them, *The Tribe Antiochis obtained the Victory, Aristides defray'd the Charges, and Arcestratus's Play was acted.*

But this last Proof, tho' in Appearance the strongest of all, is, in reality, very weak; for *Epaminondas*, who, all the World knows, liv'd and died poor, and *Plato* the Philosopher, who was not very rich, exhibited very expensive Shews; the Former defraying the Charge of a Concerto of Flutists at *Thebes*, and the Latter an Entertainment of Singing performed by Boys at *Athens*; *Dion* having supply'd *Plato*, and *Pelopidas* *Epaminondas* with what Money was necessary for that purpose; for good Men have not sworn an irreconcilable Enmity to the Presents of their Friends; they look indeed upon Those that are taken to hoard, and with an avaritious Intention, vile and dishonourable, but refuse them not when Honour and Reputation may be served by them without any Suspicion of Avarice.

As to the Tripod in the Temple of *Bacchus*, *Panætius* shews plainly that *Demetrius* was deceived by the Similitude of Names; for from the time of the *Median* to the End of the *Peloponnesian* War there are upon Record only two of the Name of *Aristides* that carried the Prize at the Shews they exhibited, neither of which was the Son of *Lyfimachus*; the First of the Two being the Son of *Xenophilus*, and the Latter living a long time after, as appears from the Characters, which were not in use till after *Euclid's* Time; and likewise from the Name of the Poet *Arcestratus*, which is not to be found in any Record or Author, during the Wars with the *Medes*; whereas it appears from Both, that a Poet of that Name had Plays acted in the time of the *Peloponnesian* War. But this Argument of *Panætius's* ought to be more thoroughly examined.

As for the Ostracism, 'tis very certain that it fell indifferently upon All that were any way distinguished by Birth, Reputation, or Eloquence; insomuch that even *Damon*, Preceptor to *Pericles*, was banished by it, because he seemed to excel other Men in Knowledge and Wisdom. And further, *Idomeneus* says, that *Aristides* did not attain the Office of Archon by Lot, but by free Choice and Election of the People. And indeed, if this happened after the Battle of *Platea*, as the same *Demetrius* writes, 'tis highly probable, that having gained such Renown by his Achievements, he was called to this high Office for his Virtue, which Others obtain'd on account of their Wealth and Riches. But 'tis plain that *Demetrius* was resolv'd to free *Socrates*, as well as *Aristides*, from a Charge of Poverty, as if it were a Crime or Reproach to be poor, since he affirms, that the Former, besides a House of his Own, had seventy *Mina's* in ready Money, at Interest with *Criton*.

But to return to *Aristides*; he had an intimate Friendship with *Clisibenes*, who settled the Government of the Commonwealth after the Expulsion of the Tyrants; and he had entertained a particular Veneration and Esteem for *Lycurgus*, the *Spartan* Legislator, preferring him so much above all other Statesmen, as to make him a Pattern for Himself to imitate: From thence he came to be a Favourer of Aristocracy, wherein he was always oppos'd by *Themistocles*, who stood up for a Popular Government. Some Authors write indeed, that being bred up together from their Infancy, when they were Boys, they were always at Variance, not only in serious Matters, but even at their Sports and Diversions; and that this continual Opposition very much discovered their natural Dispositions; the One being compliant, daring, artful and subtle to compass his Ends, and carried to every thing upon slight Grounds and with great Eagerness; whereas the Other was firm and steady in his Behaviour, immoveable in every thing that appeared just, and incapable of using the least

Falshood,

Falshood, Flattery, Disguise, or Deceit, so much as in Jest. But *Aristo* of *Chio* writes that their Enmity took its Rise from Love, and from thence grew to so great a height; for being Both enamoured of *Stesileus* of the Island of *Ceos*, the most beautiful Youth of his time, they were unable to restrain their Passion within Bounds, but conceived such a Jealousy and Hatred of each other as survived the Beauty of the Boy; but as if This had been an Exercise to prepare them for future Quarrels, they soon after entered upon the Administration of publick Affairs, heated and exasperated by their former Piques and Animosities.

As for *Themistocles*, by his Management at first, and by gaining Friends, he strengthened himself with a considerable Interest and Authority; so that to one, who told him, *he would govern the Athenians admirably, provided he would take care to avoid Partiality*, he replied, *God forbid that I shou'd ever sit on a Tribunal where my Friends should not meet with more Favour and Respect than Strangers.*

On the contrary, *Aristides* took a very particular Course in his Way and Manner of Governing; for first of all, he would never do the least Injustice to oblige his Friends, nor yet disoblige 'em by denying all they asked, and refusing to grant the least and most considerable Favour: And in the next place, considering that most Rulers relying on the Power of their Friends, are led to abuse their Authority, and be guilty of Injustice, he guarded carefully against it, by representing strongly to his Mind and always saying, that the true Citizen, the Man of Integrity, ought to make his whole Strength and Security consist in advising and doing every where and upon all Occasions what is just and fit to be done. In the mean time, *Themistocles* made several rash Attempts, opposing him in all his Designs and breaking all his Measures, which put him under a necessity of thwarting *Themistocles* in whatever He proposed, as well in his own Defence, and by way of Retaliation, as to put a Stop to his growing Power, which

increased daily through the Favour of the People; for He thought it better to obstruct some Things that might even be advantageous to the Publick, than to suffer *Themistocles* to become absolute, and carry All before him with a high Hand. In fine, *Themistocles* having on a certain Occasion proposed an Affair of great Importance and Advantage, *Aristides* opposed it more strenuously than any Body; but as he went out of the Assembly, he could not forbear saying aloud, *That the Athenians would never be safe and easy 'till they sent Themistocles and Himself to Prison.*

Another time having somewhat to propose to the People, and perceiving it was like to meet with great Opposition, just as the President was going to put it to the Question, as if he had foreseen the Inconveniences that would ensue, he let the Matter drop of his own Accord, without the least Heat or Discomposure imaginable. He likewise proposed his Sentiments very often by a Second or Third Hand, for fear *Themistocles*, out of Envy and Hatred to him, might oppose what would be for the Good of the Publick.

But what was much to be admir'd in him, was his Constancy and Firmness in those sudden and unexpected Changes, to which Persons concerned in the high Affairs of State are always liable; for he was never elated by any Honours he received, nor dejected by the Contempt or Denials he met with, but always serene and easy; it being his fixed Opinion, that a Man ought to be entirely at his Country's Command, and ready to serve it on all Occasions, without the least Prospect of Honour or Profit. Thence it came to pass, that the Day a Play of *Æschylus*, entitled *The Seven Leaders against Thebes*, was acted, at the speaking of these Verses made by the Poet in Praise of *Amphiarius*,

*He aims at real Worth without the Show,
Reaping the Fruits that in a rich Mind grow,
Whence sage Advice and noble Actions flow;*

the Eyes of all the Audience were turned upon *Aristides*, as the Person to whom this great Encomium was most applicable. For he had so strong an Inclination to Justice, as not to be influenced against it by Favour or Friendship, nor, which is still more difficult, by Anger and Malice. To this purpose 'tis reported of him, that prosecuting One that had injured him at Law, and, after he had given in the Heads of his Accusation, finding that the Judges were going to pass Sentence without hearing the Person accused, he rose from his Seat, and seconded the Request of his Adversary to be heard, and not to be denied the Benefit of the Law.

Another time sitting as Judge in a Cause between two private Persons, and one of 'em beginning to say, that *his Adversary* had in his Life-time done *Aristides* many Injuries, he interrupted him, saying, Friend, tell me only what Injuries he has done to Thee, for 'tis Thy Cause, and not Mine, which I sit to judge.

Being chosen Publick Treasurer, he soon made it appear that not only Those of his Time, but the preceding Officers, had applied great Sums of the Publick Money to their own Use, and particularly *Themistocles*; who, tho' he was a very wise Man, had no great Command of his Fingers. For which Reason, when *Aristides* was to give in his Accounts, *Themistocles* raised a strong Party against him, accused him of misapplying the publick Money, and procured his Condemnation, as *Idomeneus* writes: But the chief and best Men of the City opposing so unjust a Sentence, he was not only acquitted of the Fine imposed on him, but likewise appointed Treasurer for the following Year.

Whereupon, pretending to disapprove of his former Conduct, and to alter it for the future, and appearing more compliant, easy, and remiss in examining their Accounts and exposing their Frauds, he made himself acceptable to Such as had robbed the Publick; inso-much that They extolled him to the Skies, and made Interest with the People to continue him in his Office another Year, But on the Day of Election, as the

Athenians

Athenians were just going unanimously to pitch upon him again, he rebuked 'em severely, saying, *When I discharged my Office, and managed your Treasure with the Care and Fidelity that became an honest Man, I was reviled and treated like a Villain; but now, when I have taken no Care of it, but left it to the Discretion of these publick Robbers, I am an excellent Person, and an admirable Patriot. I therefore declare to you that I am more ashamed of the Honour done me to-day, than of the Sentence pass'd against me last Year; and 'tis with Indignation and Concern that I see 'tis more meritorious with You to oblige ill Men, than faithfully to manage the Publick Revenue.* By speaking thus, and discovering their Frauds, he stopped the Mouths of all those Robbers of the Publick, who were at the very same time crying him up and giving ample Testimony in his Behalf, and likewise gained the just and real Applause of all good Men.

In the mean time *Datis*, who was sent by the King of *Persia*, under pretence of revenging on the *Athenians* their burning of *Sardis*, but in reality to conquer all *Greece*, arrived on the Coast of *Marathon*, and began to plunder and ravage all the neighbouring Country. The *Athenians* appointed ten Generals to command in this War, of whom *Miltiades* was the chief; and the next to Him both in Reputation and Authority was *Aristides*. In a Council of War that was held, *Miltiades* declared for giving the Enemy Battle, and *Aristides* seconding his Opinions contributed not a little to their coming to that Resolution. And as these Generals had the chief Command by Turns one after another; when the Day came that gave *Aristides* the Command, he resigned it to *Miltiades*, thereby shewing the rest of the Commanders, that 'twas in no respect inglorious to obey and follow the Direction of the wisest Men; but on the contrary, very safe and honourable. Thus, by his own Example, allaying that Jealousy which might have occasioned great Debates, and making 'em sensible of their Happiness in being guided by a

Person

Person of the best Experience, he confirmed *Miltiades* in an absolute and undivided Command of the Army, the other Generals no longer minding when it came to their Turn, but submitting, in every thing, entirely to his Orders.

In this Battle, the main Body of the *Athenian* Army being hard press'd, and suffering much, because the *Barbarians* made their greatest Efforts there for a long time past against the Tribes *Leontis* and *Antbiocbis*, at the Head of which *Themistocles* and *Aristides* fought, the One being of the Tribe of *Leontis*, and the Other of *Antbiocbis*, and they fought with such Emulation, Bravery, and Success, that they broke the Body of the Enemy, and drove them back to their Ships. But perceiving, that, instead of sailing towards the Isles in order to return to *Asia*, they were forced in by the Winds and Currents towards *Attica*; and fearing lest they should surprize the City unprovided for a Defence, they hastened to its Assistance with nine Tribes, and marched with such Diligence and Expedition, that they arrived there the same Day.

But *Aristides* being left with his Tribe at *Marathon* to guard the Prisoners and Booty, fully answered the good Opinion that had been conceived of him; for tho' there was much Gold and Silver in several Parts of the Camp, and that all the Tents and Ships they had taken, were full of sumptuous Apparel, Furniture, and Riches of all sorts; yet he forbore touching any thing Himself, and did all he could to hinder every Body else from meddling with any Part of it. But notwithstanding his strict Orders, there were Some that found their Account, and enriched themselves, unknown to him; among whom was *Callias* the Torch-bearer. One of the *Barbarians* meeting him privately, and probably taking him for a King on account of his long Hair, and the Fillet about his Head, fell on his Knees before him, and taking him by the Hand, discovered to him a great Quantity of Gold that was hid in the bottom of a Well: But *Callias* shewed himself on this Occasion the
most

most cruel and unjust of Men, for not satisfied with the whole Treasure, he killed the poor Wretch upon the Spot, to prevent any further Discoveries. From thence, 'tis said, the comick Poets called his Family *Laccopluti*, which is as much as to say, *enriched by the Well*, jesting on the Place from whence their Founder derived his Wealth. The next Year after this Battle, *Aristides* was chosen first *Archon*, or the *Archon* from whence the Year takes its Name; tho' *Demetrius Phalereus* assures us, that he never enjoyed that Office 'till after the Battle of *Platea*, a little before his Death; but if we consult the publick Registers, we shall no where find *Aristides*'s Name in the List of *Archons*, after *Xanthippides*, in the Time of whose *Archonship*, *Mardonius* was defeated at *Platea*; whereas his Name may be seen upon Record immediately after *Phanippus*, who was *Archon* that Year the famous Battle of *Marathon* was fought.

Of all *Aristides*'s Virtues, the best known, and That by which he was most distinguished, was his Justice, as being of most constant Use, and of the greatest Extent. Thence, from being a Person of mean Fortune and Birth, he acquired the most Royal and Divine Sirname, or Appellation of *Just*, a Title Kings and Tyrants were never fond of. They rather choose to be stiled *Poliortetes*, i. e. *Takers of Cities*; *Cerauni*, Thunderbolts; *Nicanors*, Conquerors. Nay, Some have been pleased with the additional Appellation of *Eagles* and *Vultures*, preferring the Vain-glory of those Names that signify nothing but Force and Violence, to the Substantial Honour of such as denote real Virtue. Whereas the Deity itself, to whom they are fond of being likened and compared, seems to be distinguished only by three Things, Immortality, Power, and Virtue; of which, Virtue is without Dispute the most venerable and divine: For a *Vacuum* and the Elements partake of Immortality; Earthquakes, Thunder, Whirlwinds, and Inundations possess an almost infinite Power; but as for Justice, nothing participates of That but what

is capable of reasoning, and knowing the Divine Essence.

And whereas Men are possess'd with three different Sentiments with respect to the Gods, either of Wonder and Envy, of Fear and Dread, or of Love and Esteem, they seem to admire 'em and think 'em happy by reason of their Freedom from Death and Corruption; to fear 'em on account of their Power and Empire over the World, and to love, honour, and reverence 'em for their Justice: Yet being thus affected towards the Deity in these three different Ways, they count and desire only the two first of those Properties, *viz.* Immortality, of which our Nature is incapable; and Power, the greatest Part of which depends on Fortune; postponing and neglecting Virtue, the only divine Good that is in our own Power. And herein they are greatly mistaken, not considering that Justice makes the Life of such as enjoy Prosperity, Power and Authority, all heavenly and divine, whereas Injustice makes 'em lead the Life of a Beast.

But to return to *Aristides*; the Sirname of *Just* at first procured him Love and Respect, but at last Envy, especially thro' the secret Practices of *Themistocles*, who made it his Business to spread a Report among the People, that *Aristides*, by abolishing all Courts of Judicature, and making Himself sole Arbitrator and Judge in all Disputes, had insensibly erected a Monarchy in his own Person, without any State or Guards. The People, who are naturally insolent, were grown much more so by their late Success; and believing themselves worthy of greater Honours, and resolving that every thing should depend on their Pleasure, were violently bent against every Body of superior Eminence and Reputation: Wherefore being assembled at *Athens* from all the Towns of *Attica*, they banished *Aristides* by the Ostracism; disguising their Envy of his Glory under the specious Name of Hatred to Tyranny: For this Exile was not a Punishment for any Crime or Misdemeanour, but only a kind of honourable Retirement, which

which they called a *Curb* and *Restraint* to overgrown Pride and Power ; but it was in reality a soft and gentle Mitigation of Envy ; for by this means, Whoever grew jealous and offended at the growing Greatness of Another, discharged all his Spleen and Malice, not in any thing that was severe and cruel, but only in a ten Years Banishment. 'Tis true, after some mean and villanous Fellows, and last of all, the infamous *Hyperbolus*, had been condemn'd to this honourable Exile, the *Athenians* desisted from any further Use of it. The Cause and Occasion of *Hyperbolus's* Banishment by the Ostracism was This.

Alcibiades and *Nicias*, two Persons of the greatest Power and Authority in the City, had raised a Faction, and declared open War against one another ; but finding that the People were about to have Recourse to the Ostracism, and that it would be undoubtedly carried against One of them, they consulted together, and uniting their Interests contrived to make it fall upon *Hyperbolus*. Whereupon the People, full of Indignation at the Contempt and Dishonour brought upon that kind of Punishment, abolish'd it, and us'd it no more. To give a general Idea of the Ostracism, This was the manner of performing it. Every Citizen took a Piece of a broken Pot, or Shell, on which having wrote the Name of the Person he would have banished, he carried it to a certain Part of the Market-Place that was inclosed with wooden Rails. Then the Magistrates began to count the Number of the Shells ; for if they were less than six hundred, the Ostracism was void ; but if the Number was complete, then they laid every Name apart by itself, and that Person, whose Name was found on the greatest Number of Shells, was declared banished for ten Years, but with Permission to enjoy his Estate.

At the time that *Aristides* was banished, when they were busy inscribing their Names on the Shells, 'tis reported that an ignorant ill-bred Inhabitant of some little Borough, that could neither write nor read, came to *Aristides*, whom he took for some ordinary Person, and giving him his Shell, desired him to write *Aristides* on

it ;

it; He, a little surpris'd at the Adventure ask'd the Man if *Aristides* had ever disobligh'd him in any respect; to which the Boor reply'd, *Not in the least, neither do I so much as know him, but I am weary and sick with bearing him every where called the Just.* Whereupon *Aristides*, without speaking a Word, very composedly took the Shell, and having written his own Name on it returned it to the Fellow. As he went out of the City to his Banishment, lifting up his Eyes to Heaven, he made a Prayer to the Gods, quite contrary, as may easily be imagined, to That of *Achilles*; for he pray'd, *that the Athenians might never see that Day that should force them to remember Aristides.*

Three Years after, when *Xerxes* was hastening by long Marches through *Thessaly* and *Bœotia* to reach the Country of *Attica*, the *Athenians* repeal'd this Law, and made a publick Decree to call home all the Exiles. What induced them to This was their Fear of *Aristides*; for they were apprehensive that He siding with the Enemy might corrupt and bring over many of the Citizens to their Interest; but herein they very much mistook his Character; for before this Decree, he constantly advis'd and encouraged the *Greeks* to maintain their Liberty; and after it, when *Themistocles* was chosen General of the Army, he joined with him, and assisted him both with his Person and Counsel; thus out of regard to the publick Good, advancing his greatest Enemy to the highest Pitch of Glory. For when *Eurybiades* the General had resolv'd to quit *Salamine*, and the Enemy's Ships sailing by Night, had in a manner surrounded the Islands without any one's knowing that the Army was encompass'd, *Aristides* put to Sea by Night, and having pass'd with great Danger through the Enemy's whole Fleet, came at last to *Themistocles's* Tent, where, having call'd him out by himself, he spok'd to him in these Words: *If we are wise, Themistocles, we shall now for ever lay aside that vain and childish Contention that has hitherto been between us, and begin a more safe and honourable Emulation, by contending which of*

Us Two shall do most towards the Safety of Greece, You by performing the Part of a wise and great General, and I, by obeying and assisting you with my Person and Advice. I understand that You alone have determined rightly, advising to engage in the Straits without Delay. Your Allies are of a different Opinion, but the Enemies themselves seem to confirm and strengthen Your Advice; for the Sea all round us is covered and shut up by their Fleet, so that They who have opposed coming to an Engagement must be forced to fight, and shew themselves Men of Courage, there being no Room left for Flight.

To this *Themistocles* reply'd, *I am ashamed, Aristides, at your having got the start of me in this noble Emulation; I shall use my utmost Endeavours to outdo this Beginning, which is so much to your Honour, and to obscure, if possible, this Glorious Step of yours, by the Lustre of my future Actions.* At the same time he acquainted him with the Stratagem he had contrived to ensnare the *Barbarians*, and begg'd him to go and try to persuade *Eurybiades* to venture a Battle, by shewing him the Impossibility of saving themselves without it; for *Aristides* had much the greater Influence over them. Likewise at a Council of War where all the General Officers assisted, when *Cleocrites* the *Corinthian* told *Themistocles*, that *Aristides* did not approve his Advice, since he was there present, and said nothing at all; *Aristides* answered, *You are mistaken, Sir, for had not Themistocles proposed what is most expedient, I should have declared my own Sentiments, and my Silence is not owing to any Favour to his Person, but to my Approbation of his Advice.* This is what happened at that Council.

The same Day *Aristides* perceiving that *Psyttalia*, a little Island lying in the Straits over-against *Salamine*, was intirely possessed by the Enemy's Troops, put on board his small Transports Some of the most resolute and best experienced of his Countrymen, and landing with them there, attack'd the Enemy with such Fury, that they were all cut to pieces, except some of the principal Persons that were made Prisoners. Among These

These were three Sons of *Sandauc* the King's Sister, whom *Aristides* sent immediately to *Themistocles*; and 'tis said, that at the Command of a certain Oracle, by the Direction of *Euphrantides* the Diviner, they were Sacrificed to *Bacchus*, surnamed *Omeestes*.

After this successful Beginning, *Aristides* placed Troops all round the Island to guard it, and watch all such as should be thrown upon it either by the Fortune of War, or the Violence of the Sea; that so none of his Friends might perish, or any of his Enemies escape: For the greatest Stress and Fury of the Battle lay thereabouts, as he had foreseen: And therefore a Trophy was erected in that Island.

When the Battle was over, *Themistocles*, in order to discover *Aristides*'s Sentiments, spoke thus; *We have performed a great Exploit, but the chiefest and most important Part is still behind, which is, to take all Asia even in Europe, which is to be done by sailing directly to the Hellespont, and breaking down the Bridge that Xerxes has left there for his Retreat.* But *Aristides* exclaimed loudly against this Project, and desired *Themistocles* to give over all Thoughts of so extravagant an Undertaking, telling him, that he ought rather to find out all proper Means to drive the *Medes* speedily out of *Greece*; for fear lest so powerful an Army finding themselves shut up, and no way left for their Escape, Despair might rouse their Courage, and force them to an obstinate Defence.

Themistocles therefore sent a second time to *Xerxes* by *Anarces* the Eunuch, whom he gave in Charge to acquaint the King privately, that he had used his utmost Endeavours to divert the *Greeks* from their Design of sending to cut down the Bridge over the *Hellespont*; and that he had sent this Advice as a Mark of his Affection to his Majesty's Person, and that he might make use of it for his Safety. *Xerxes*, alarm'd at the Danger that seem'd to threaten him, lost no time at all, but sail'd immediately back towards the *Hellespont* with his whole Fleet, leaving *Mardonius* behind him with a Land-

army composed of three hundred thousand of his best Troops.

This great Number of Forces made the King's Lieutenant-General very dreadful to the Greeks, which was heightened by his Menaces, and the haughty Letters he wrote to them; *You have*, said he in one of them, *overcome, at Sea, Men unskilled at the Oar, and only accustomed to fight on Land; but the Plains of Thessaly and Bœotia offer us a fair Opportunity to try the Bravery of our Squadrons and Batallions.* But he wrote particular Letters to the Athenians, in which he made them Offers from the King, to rebuild their City, to give them large Sums of Money, and to make them Masters of all Greece, upon Condition they would withdraw their Forces, and give their Allies no further Assistance.

The Lacedæmonians having got secret Intelligence of these Proposals, and fearing they might be accepted, sent Ambassadors to Athens, to intreat the Athenians to send their Wives and Children to Sparta for their greater Safety, and to accept from them of what was necessary for the Sustainance and Support of Such as were in Years; for the People, being despoiled both of their City and Country, suffered an extreme Poverty.

When the Athenians had heard the Ambassadors, they made them such an Answer, by the Direction of Aristides, as can never be sufficiently admired; they said, *They forgave their Enemies, if they thought every thing was to be purchased for Money, because perhaps They knew Nothing of greater Value; but that they were highly offended at the Lacedæmonians, because They had regard only to their present Poverty and Distress, when they thought an Allowance of Bread to their Poor might be a sufficient Motive to induce them to continue firm to their Alliance, and to fight for the Safety of Greece.*

This Answer being approved of and recorded, and all the Ambassadors brought into the Assembly, Aristides ordered Those from Sparta to acquaint the Lacedæmonians, *That all the Gold upon Earth, and all that was contained*

contained within the Bowels of it, was not so valuable to the Athenians as the Liberty of Greece; and to Those that came from Mardonius, shewing them the Sun, he ordered that it should be said, *That so long as that Luminary continued its Course, so long shall the Athenians wage War against the Persians, to revenge the Plundering and Wasting of their Country, and the Profanation and Burning of their Temples.*

Moreover he preferred a Decree, that the Priests should anathematize and excommunicate Whosoever should send any Embassy to the Medes, or desert the Alliance of Greece.

When Mardonius made a second Incurfion into the Country of Attica, the Athenians retir'd again into the Island of Salamine. At that time Aristides being sent Ambassador to Sparta, complain'd of the Delay and Neglect of the Lacedæmonians, reproached them with their abandoning Athens again to the Spoil of the Barbarians, and earnestly exhorted them to march with all speed to the Relief of that part of Greece which was not yet fallen into the Enemy's Hands.

The Ephori having heard this Representation, seemed very little mov'd at it, but spent the whole Day in Feasting and Merriment, it happening to be the Festival of Hyacinthus. But at Night they dispatched five thousand Spartans, each of them taking with him seven Ilotes, and sent them away privately, unknown to the Athenians.

Some Days after Aristides complaining again to the Council, the Ephori told him smiling, *That he must needs either dote or dream; since their Army was by that time as far as Orestium, on their March against the Foreigners; for so the Lacedæmonians called the Barbarians.* Aristides told them, *It was not then a time to jest, and please themselves with deceiving their Friends instead of their Enemies.* This is *Demeneus's* Account of the Matter: But in Aristides's Decree, he is not mentioned as an Ambassador, the Ambassadors being Cimon, Xantbippus and Myrenides,

Being some time after appointed chief Commander of the *Athenian* Forces, he marched with eight thousand Foot to *Platea*. There *Pausanias*, Generalissimo of all *Greece*, join'd with the *Spartans*, and the other *Grecian* Troops arrived daily in good Order. The *Barbarians* Army was encamped along the side of the River *Asopus*, but not entrenched, by reason of the vast extent of Ground they took up; only in the middle of it there was a four-square Wall thrown up, each Side of which was ten Furlongs long, for the Security of their Baggage and other things of value.

In the *Grecian* Army there was a Diviner, whose Name was *Tisamenes*, who had foretold *Pausanias*, and all the *Greeks*, that they should infallibly obtain the Victory, provided they forbore to attack the Enemy, and stood only on their own Defence. And *Aristides* having sent to consult the Oracle at *Delphi*, the God answered, *That the Athenians should gain the Victory over their Enemies, provided they made their Supplications to Jupiter, to Juno the Patroness of Mount Citheron, to Pan, and to the Nymphs Sphragitides; and that they sacrificed to the Heroes, Androcrates, Leucon, Pisander, Damocrates, Hypsion, Asteon and Poluidus; and that they fought only in their own Country, particularly in the Plain of Ceres Eleusina and Proserpine.*

This Answer of the Oracle very much perplex'd *Aristides*; for the Heroes to whom it commanded to offer Sacrifice were the Ancestors of the *Plateans*; and the Cave of the Nymphs *Sphragitides* was one of the highest Summits of Mount *Citheron*, on that Side which in the Summer Season is opposite to the Setting Sun; in that Cave, as *Fame* goeth, there was an Oracle, and Many, who dwelt in those Parts, were inspired by it, and were from thence called *Nymbolepti*, that is, *possess'd by the Nymphs*: And on the other Side, to promise Victory to the *Athenians* upon Condition only of fighting in their own Country, was to call back and transfer the whole Stress and Weight of the War in *Attica*.

In the mean time *Arimnestus*, the General of the *Plataeans*, dream'd that *Jupiter* the Saviour came to him, and asked him, *What Resolution the Grecians had taken*; to which he answered, *To-morrow, Lord, we shall decamp and remove our Army into the Territories of Eleufis, and there fight the Barbarians, according to the Directions of the Oracle.* To which the God reply'd, *That they were quite mistaken, for the Place mentioned by the Oracle was the Country round Plataea, and that they would find it to be so, upon due Enquiry.*

After so plain a Vision, *Arimnestus*, as soon as he awoke, sent for the most aged and experienced of his Countrymen, and having advis'd with them, found at last that not far from *Husia*, at the Foot of Mount *Citheron*, there was an old Temple, call'd *The Temple of Eleufinian Ceres and Proferpine.* Overjoyed at this Discovery, he gave *Aristides* an Account of it, and brought him to the Place, which they found very commodious for drawing up an Army of Foot, that had no Cavalry, because the Bottom of Mount *Citheron* extending as far as the Temple, rendered it inaccessible to Horse. Besides, in the same Place was the Fane of the Hero *Androcrates*, quite overgrown and covered by the Branches of Trees and Thickets. And that the Oracle might be obeyed in every Particular, to confirm their Hopes of Victory, the *Plataeans* upon the Motion of *Arimnestus* made a Decree to alter the Boundaries between their Country and *Greece*, enlarging the Territories of *Attica*, that so the *Athenians*, according to the Direction of the Oracle, might give the Enemy Battle within their own Dominions. The *Plataeans* became so renown'd for this piece of Generosity, that several Years after, when *Alexander* had conquer'd all *Asia*, he caus'd the Walls of *Plataea* to be rebuilt, and Proclamation to be made by an Herald at the *Olympick Games*, *That he did the Plataeans this Favour for their Virtue and Generosity, of which they had given such signal Proofs in the War with the Medes, by making over their Country to the Athenians, for the Safety of Greece.*

When

When it was propos'd to draw up the whole Army in Order of Battle, and to assign each Body their respective Post, a great Dispute arose between the *Tegeatæ* and the *Athenians*, the *Tegeatæ* pretending, that as the *Lacedæmonians*, in all Battles, commanded the right Wing, so the Honour of commanding the Left was their Due; and to justify this Pretension, alledg'd the memorable Exploits of their Ancestors, and their great Services to the common Cause. As the *Athenians* were highly enrag'd at This, and ready to mutiny, *Aristides* advancing in the midst of 'em, said, 'Tis not now a Time to contest with the *Tegeatæ* those Exploits and Services they so largely amplify; We shall content ourselves with telling you, O ye Spartans, and all the rest of the Greeks, that it is not the Post that gives Courage, or takes it away, and that We will perform our Duty in whatever Post You shall assign Us: And by maintaining it, and making it the most honourable, we will endeavour to reflect no Dishonour on our former Achievements. We are come hither, not to contend with our Friends, but to fight with our Enemies; not to boast of our Ancestors, but to imitate 'em, by approving ourselves brave and honest Men to all Greece; for this Battle will distinguish the particular Merit of each City, Commander, and private Soldier. The Council of War having heard This, declar'd in Favour of the *Athenians*, and gave them the Command of the left Wing.

While all Greece remain'd in Suspence, waiting the Event of this great Affair, the *Athenians* in particular found themselves in very difficult and dangerous Circumstances; for several of the most noble and wealthy Citizens seeing themselves ruin'd by the War, and that with their Wealth they had lost all their Credit and Authority in the City, and that Others were advanc'd in their Room, and enjoy'd the Honours they had lost, assembled privately in a House at *Plataea*, and conspir'd a Dissolution of the *Athenian* Government; and if they miscarried in their Design, to ruin every thing, and betray all Greece to the Barbarians.

This Conspiracy was carried on in the Camp, and great Numbers already corrupted and won over, when *Aristides* came to the Knowledge of it. At first he was very much alarm'd on account of the present Juncture, and unresolv'd what Course to pursue; but at last wisely determin'd neither wholly to neglect an Affair of that Consequence, nor yet to search too minutely into it: For not knowing how many might be engag'd in it, he judg'd it advisable to sacrifice Justice, in some measure, to the Publick Good, by forbearing to prosecute All that were guilty. Out of all this Number he contented himself with causing Eight only to be apprehended, and of those Eight only Two to be proceeded against, as being most guilty; (*Eschines of Lampra*, and *Agessias of Acharnes*,) who made their Escape out of the Camp during the Prosecution. As for the rest, he discharg'd 'em; giving 'em thereby an Opportunity to take Heart, and repent, from a Belief that Nothing had been found against 'em; giving 'em at the same time to understand, *That the Battle wou'd be the Tribunal, where they might justify themselves, and make it appear, that they had never pursued any Counsels, but what were just and useful to their Country.*

After This, *Mardonius*, to try the Grecian Courage, sent his Cavalry, in which he was strongest, to skirmish with them. The *Greeks* were encamp'd at the Foot of Mount *Citheron*, in strong and stony Places, except the *Megareans*, who, to the number of three thousand, were encamp'd in the Plain, by which means they were the more expos'd to the Enemy's Horse on every Side. After having some time sustain'd the *Barbarians* Attacks, they sent to *Pausanias* for Assistance, being unable any longer to oppose the superior Power of the Enemy.

Pausanias hearing This, and seeing the Camp of the *Megareans* as it were darken'd and cover'd by the great number of the *Barbarians* Darts and Arrows, and that they were forc'd to contract themselves within a narrow Compass, was at a stand what to resolve on; for he saw

no way of attacking the Enemy with his Battalion of heavy-arm'd *Spartans*. He endeavour'd therefore to awaken the Emulation of the Officers and Commanders that were about him, and to make it a Point of Honour in Any that wou'd voluntarily undertake the Defence and Succour of the *Megareans*. But *Aristides* perceiving that they All turn'd a deaf Ear to it, made an Offer of his *Athenians*, and at the same time gave his Orders to *Olympiodorus*, the bravest of all his Officers, who had a Body of three hundred Men, and some Archers under his Command. These bold Fellows were ready in a moment, and march'd against the *Barbarians* with the utmost Expedition.

Masistius, General of the *Persian* Horse, a Man distinguished and admir'd for his Strength, and graceful Mien, seeing them advance in good Order, turn'd his Horse, and made toward 'em. The *Athenians* receiv'd him with great Firmness and Resolution; whereupon a sharp Contest ensued, both Sides pretending to foretel the Event of the War, from the Success of this Engagement. It was doubtful for a long time, which Side had the Advantage; 'till at last *Masistius's* Horse being wounded with an Arrow, threw his Rider, who cou'd not rise for the Weight of his Armour, nor be easily slain by the *Athenians*, who throng'd about him, and assaulted him on every side, from the Compleatness of it, for he was arm'd from Head to Foot; but the Vizor of his Helmet leaving part of his Face unguarded, a certain *Athenian* ran him into the Eye with his Pike, and slew him; whereupon the *Persians* left his Body, and fled.

The great Advantage gain'd by the *Athenians* did not appear from the Number of the Slain, very few lying dead upon the Field of Battle, but from the Mourning of the *Barbarians*; who express'd such a Grief for the Death of *Masistius*, that they cut off their own Hair, and That of their Horses and Mules, and fill'd all the Camp with their Cries, Groans and Tears, as having lost the

next

next Person in the Army to *Mardonius*, for Courage as well as Command.

After this Engagement against the *Barbarians* Horse, both Armies continued a long time without coming to Action; for the Diviners that inspected the Entrails of the Sacrifices, had equally assur'd the *Greeks* and *Persians* of Victory, if they remain'd only on the Defensive, and threaten'd the Aggressors with a total Defeat.

But at length, *Mardonius* finding that he had only a few Days Provision left, and that the *Grecian* Forces increas'd continually by the daily Arrival of fresh Troops, impatient of a Delay that still turn'd to his Disadvantage, resolv'd to wait no longer, but to pass the River *Asopus* next Morning by break of Day, and to fall upon the *Greeks*, unprepar'd, as he hoped, to receive him: And in order to This, he gave his Orders to all the Commanders and Officers over-night. But about Midnight a Horseman, without the least Noise, arriv'd at the *Grecian* Camp, and calling to the Centinels told 'em, he had something to communicate to *Aristides*, the *Athenian* General, and desir'd they shou'd call him thither; and *Aristides* coming with all Speed, the unknown Person said to him, *I am Alexander King of Macedon, who out of the Friendship I bear you, have expos'd myself to the greatest Dangers in the World, for fear lest the Surprise of a sudden Attack should so far tie up your Hands, as to make you behave with less Bravery and Resolution than usual. For Mardonius is determin'd to give you Battle To-morrow; not that he is led to This by any well-grounded Hopes or Prospect of Success, but from a Scarcity of Provisions; for the Augurs by their ominous Sacrifices and ill-boding Oracles endeavour to restrain and divert him from this Enterprize, but Necessity forces him either to run the Hazard of a Battle, or by delaying to see his whole Army perish for Want.*

When *Alexander* had said This, he desir'd *Aristides* to keep it as a Secret, to make his Advantage of it, but not to reveal it to any other Person; to which *Aristides* reply'd

reply'd that it would not be proper to conceal it from *Pausanias*, who was Generalissimo of the Army, but promis'd not to make the least mention of it to any other of the Officers, 'till after the Battle; assuring him at the same time, that if the *Greeks* prov'd victorious, not a Man in the whole Army shou'd remain ignorant of the Danger he had expos'd himself to for their Sakes, and the great Kindness he had express'd to them on this important Occasion.

After This, the King of *Macedon* return'd back to his Camp, and *Aristides* went directly to *Pausanias*'s Tent, and told him what he had heard; whereupon all the Officers were sent for, and Orders given to draw up the Army, and prepare for Battle. At the same time, as *Herodotus* writes, *Pausanias* acquainted *Aristides* with his Design of altering the Form of the Army, by removing the *Athenians* from the left Wing to the right, that so they might be opposite to the *Persians*, against whom they wou'd fight with the more Bravery, and greater Assurance of Victory, as having already made Proof of their manner of Combat, and being likewise animated by their former Success; and to command the Left Himself, where he shou'd be oblig'd to fight against those *Greeks* who had embrac'd the Median Interest.

All the other *Athenian* Officers look'd upon this Behaviour of *Pausanias* as too haughty and insolent, to permit all the other *Greeks* to remain in their respective Posts, and to take upon him to remove Them, like so many worthless Slaves from Place to Place, at his Pleasure, placing them against the most valiant of the Enemy's Troops. But *Aristides* shew'd 'em, that they were very shamefully mistaken. 'Tis but a few Days, said he, since you had a Dispute with the *Tegeatæ* for the Command of the left Wing, and having gain'd that Point, you look'd upon it as a great Honour; and now when the *Spartans* are willing to give you the Command of the right Wing, which is in a manner the Command of the whole Army, you are displeas'd at this further Honour, and in-
sensible

sensible of the Advantage of not being oblig'd to fight against your own Countrymen, your Relations, and even your own Blood, but only against Barbarians, and such as are by Nature your Enemies.

These Words had such an Effect, that the *Athenians* immediately agreed with Pleasure, to change Posts with the *Spartans*, and nothing was heard among 'em but Exhortations to one another, to behave like brave and gallant Men; *that the Enemy they were about to engage brought with them no better Arms nor braver Hearts than They whom they had conquer'd at Marathon; that they saw the same Bows, the same whimsical Habits, the same Ornaments of Gold, and the same soft and effeminate Bodies, as well as the same weak and cowardly Souls. As for us,* continued they, *we have still the same Weapons and the same Bodies, but we have likewise a Boldness and Assurance beighten'd by our Victories; nor do we, like them, fight only for a Tract of Land, or a single City, but for the Trophies of Salamine, and Marathon, that they may not appear to have been the Work of Miltiade or Fortune, but of the People of Athens.*

Having spoken thus, they march'd chearfully to change Posts with the *Spartans*. But the *Thebans* being advertis'd of it by Deserters, sent forthwith to acquaint *Mardonius*, who without Delay, either for fear of the *Athenians*, or out of a desire to engage the *Spartans*, chang'd the Order of his Battle, placing the *Persians* in his right Wing, and the *Greeks* that were of his Party, in the Left, opposite to the *Athenians*.

When this Change was made known to *Pausanias*, He likewise chang'd again, replacing every Thing in its first Order, he Himself returning to the right Wing, and *Mardonius* did the same, posting himself in his Left, that he might be over-against the *Spartans*; and so this Day pass'd without any Action at all. In the Evening it was resolv'd in a Council of War to decamp, and take possession of some Place that was more commodious for Water, because the Springs near their present Camp were disturb'd and spoil'd by the Enemy's Horse.

When the Night was come, and the Officers began to march at the Head of their Troops towards the Place that had been mark'd out for a new Camp, the Soldiers seem'd to follow unwillingly, and cou'd not, without great Difficulty, be kept together in a Body ; for as soon as they were got out of their first Entrenchments, and at Liberty, the greatest part made towards the City of *Platæa*, and Some ran one way, and some another, pitching their Tents wherever they pleased themselves, without any Order or Discipline, which occasioned a very great Confusion. During this general Disorder and Disobedience, it happened that the *Lacedæmonians* were left alone behind, tho' against their Wills ; for *Amompharetus*, who commanded them, a daring intrepid Man, that for a long time had been very desirous of coming to a Battle, and very ill bore their tedious Lingrings and Delays, and who openly called this Decampment a Running away and Flight, protested, *he would not desert his Post, but remain there with his Company, to receive and sustain the whole Charge of the Enemy.* And when *Pausanias* came and represented to him, that he ought to submit to what had been resolv'd on by the *Greeks* in Council, he took up a large Stone with both his Hands, and throwing it at *Pausanias's* Feet, said, *There is my Balot for a Battle ; and I despise all the other mean and cowardly Resolutions of this fine Council.*

Pausanias, confounded and at a loss what to do, resolv'd at last to send to the *Athenians* that were before, to halt a little, that they might all proceed in a Body ; and at the same time continued his March with the rest of the Army towards *Platæa*, hoping that *Amompharetus* might by that means be induced to quit his Post, and join him.

By this time the Day began to appear, and *Mardonius*, who was advertis'd of the *Grecians* Decampment, having formed his Army, march'd against the *Lacedæmonians*, with mighty Shouts and a horrible barbarous Noise, not as tho' they were going to join Battle with the *Greeks*, but to spoil them in their Flight ; which almost happened,

happened, as they had imagined. *Pausanias* indeed perceiving this Motion of *Mardonius's*, stopp'd, and ordered every one to his Post; but whether out of Resentment against *Amompharetus*, or Surprise at the sudden Attack of the *Persians*, he forgot to give his Troops the Word; whence it came to pass that they did not all engage readily, nor at the same Time in a Body, but here and there in small Parties, without any Order, even after the Fight was begun.

Pausanias in the mean time offering Sacrifice, but receiving no propitious Omens, commanded the *Lacedæmonians* to lay their Shields at their Feet, and to abide quietly, and attend his Orders. After This, he offered another Sacrifice, the Enemies Horse still advancing. They were now come within Reach, and several of the *Spartans* were wounded, among whom was *Callicrates*, a Man the best made and the most comely Person in all the Army; this brave Officer being wounded, and ready to expire, said, *That he did not lament his Death, because he came from home with a Design to sacrifice his Life for the Safety of Greece; but that he was sorry to die without having once drawn his Sword, and given Proof of his Courage and Affection for his Country.*

If this Situation of the *Spartan Army* was dreadful, the Steadiness and Bravery of the Men was still more to be admired; for they made no Defence against the Enemy that charged them, but expecting the gracious Signal from the Gods or their General, patiently suffered themselves to be wounded and slain in their Ranks.

Some Authors write, that as *Pausanias* was at Prayers, and sacrificing at a little distance from the Battle, some *Lydians* came upon him by Surprise, and either carried off, or threw down the Sacrifice from the Altar; and that *Pausanias*, and Those that were with him, having no Weapons, drove them away with Staves and Whips: And that to perpetuate the Memory of this Action, they celebrate to this Day a Feast at *Sparta*, where they whip Children round an Altar, and conclude

clude with a March called the *Lydian March*, in Imitation of this Incurſion and Flight of the *Lydians*.

Pausanias, exceedingly troubled at what paſſ'd, and ſeeing the Priſt offer one Sacrifice after Another, without obtaining any favourable Omen, turned on a ſudden, with his Eyes full of Tears, towards *Juno's* Temple, and liſting up his Hands to Heaven, addreſs'd himſelf to that Goddeſs, the Patroneſs of *Citberon*, and to the other tutelar Deities of the *Platæans*, beſeeching 'em, *That if the Fates had not decreed that the Grecians ſhould prove victorious, they might at leaſt be permitted to ſell their Lives dearly, and not periſh without firſt ſhewing their Enemies by their Actions, that they had to do with Men of Experience and Bravery.*

As ſoon as *Pausanias* had finiſhed this Prayer, the Sacrifices appeared propitious, and the Diviners promiſed him the Victory. Orders were immediately given to all the Commanders to march againſt the Enemy, and at the ſame time the *Spartan* Battalion ſeemed like the ſingle Body of ſome fierce Animal, erecting his Briſtles, and preparing for Combat. The *Barbarians* plainly ſaw they were to encounter with Men, reſolved to fight to the laſt Drop of Blood, wherefore covering themſelves with their Targets, they ſhot their Arrows amongſt the *Lacedæmonians*, who moving cloſe in a Body joined together, fell on 'em and forced their Targets out of their Hands, at the ſame time they directed their Blows at the Breasts and Faces of the *Persians*, and overthrew them; who, however, when they were down, continued to give Proofs of their great Strength and Courage; for taking hold of the *Lacedæmonians* Spears with their naked Hands, they brake many of 'em; and then riſing, and betaking themſelves to their Swords and Battle-Axes, preſſing them cloſe, wreſting away their Shields, and grappling with them, they made a long, bloody, and obſtinate Reſiſtance.

The *Athenians* all this while ſtood ſtill in Expectation of the *Lacedæmonians*; but hearing a Noiſe as it were of People fighting, and an Officer, diſpatch'd to 'em by *Pausanias*,

Pausanias; having acquainted them that the Battle was actually begun, they march'd without Delay to their Assistance; and as they cross'd the Plain towards the Place where the Noise was heard, the *Greeks*, who had sided with the Enemy, met 'em. As soon as *Aristides* saw them, he advanced a considerable Space before the Army, and calling out to them, conjured 'em by all the Gods of *Greece*, to give over this impious War, and not oppose the Athenians, who were going to the Assistance of Those that readily exposed their Lives for the Safety of *Greece*; but perceiving that they paid no Regard to what he said, but came on to engage him, he quitted his Design of going to assist the *Lacedæmonians*, and with what Troops he had fell upon these *Greeks*, who were about five thousand in Number. But the greatest Part of 'em got off and made a swift Retreat, especially when they heard that the *Barbarians* were defeated and put to Flight. The sharpest Part of this Engagement was against the *Thebans*. The chiefeft and most powerful Persons among them at that time siding with the *Medes*, had, by virtue of their Authority, brought out their Troops against their Inclinations.

The Battle being thus divided into two Parts, the *Lacedæmonians* first broke and routed the *Persians*, *Mardonius* himself being slain by one *Arimnestus* a *Spartan*, by a Blow on his Head with a Stone, as the Oracle of *Amphiaræus* had foretold: for *Mardonius* had sent a *Lydian* to consult this Oracle; and at the same time he likewise sent a *Carian* to the Cave of *Trophonius*. The Priest of this last answered the *Carian* in his own Language. As for the *Lydian*, he lay all Night in the Temple of *Amphiaræus*, as was customary, and dreamt that one of the Priests belonging to the God came to him, and commanded him to go out of the Temple, and upon his Refusal, threw a great Stone at his Head, that he thought himself killed with the Blow. This is the Account given of that Transaction. The *Barbarians* being put to Flight, were pursued by the *Lacedæmonians* into the midst of their former Camp, which they had encom-

passed and fortified with Wood: And in a little time after, the *Athenians* routed and put the *Thebans* to Flight, killing three hundred of the most considerable Persons among them, upon the Spot. Just as they began to give way, News was brought that the *Barbarians* were shut up and besieged in their wooden Fortification by the *Lacedæmonians*; whereupon the *Athenians* giving the *Greeks* an Opportunity to escape, marched to re-inforce the *Lacedæmonians*, who made but a slow Progress in their Attack, being very little skill'd or experienced in Storms and Sieges. But when They arrived, they attacked the Fort with such Vigour and Obstinacy, that after several Assaults, they at last took it by Storm, making a prodigious Slaughter of the Enemy; for of three hundred thousand Men, only forty thousand escaped with *Artabafas*; and on the *Grecian* Side no more were slain than one thousand three hundred and sixty. The *Athenians* lost only fifty two Men, all of the Tribe of *Aiantis*, which, as *Clidemus* the Historian informs us, distinguished itself particularly on that Occasion; for which reason that Tribe offered a yearly Sacrifice for this Victory, to the Nymphs *Spbragitides*, at the publick Charge, as the Oracle of *Apollo* had commanded. The *Lacedæmonians* had ninety one, and the *Tegeata* only sixteen slain in this Battle: And therefore I am very much surpris'd that *Herodotus* should write, that They only, and none other, engaged the *Barbarians*; since the Numbers of the Slain, and of their Monuments, plainly shew that this Victory was obtained by the united Power of all *Greece*. Besides, had those three People only fought the Enemy, and all the rest stood neuter, they wou'd never have engraven on an Altar erected in Memory of this Battle, an Inscription, that gives all the People of *Greece* a joint Title to this Honour: *The Grecians having obtained a signal Victory over the Persians by their Valour, and expell'd 'em out of their Country, erected this Altar, sacred to Jupiter the Deliverer, in Memory of their common Deliverance.*

This Battle was fought on the fourth of *October*, according to the *Athenian* way of reckoning ; but according to the *Bæotian* Computation, on the twenty-fourth of the Month called *Panemus* ; on which Day there is still held a general Assembly of the *Greeks* in the City of *Platæa*, whose Inhabitants then offer Sacrifice and Thanks to *Jupiter the Deliverer*, for this Victory. As to the Irregularity and Difference of Days in the *Grecian* Months, That is not to be wonder'd at ; since even now, notwithstanding the Science of Astronomy has been so much cultivated and improved, Some begin their Months at the same time that Others end them.

This Victory had like to have prov'd fatal to *Greece* ; for the *Athenians* refusing to yield the Honour of the Day to the *Spartans*, or to allow them to erect a Trophy, they were upon the point of deciding the Difference by Arms, and would have proceeded to Extremities, had not *Aristides* interposed, and by his Reasons and Intreaties softened and appeased the other Commanders, and particularly *Leocrates* and *Myronides*, persuading them to refer the Decision of the Matter to the *Grecians*, when they should meet to determine this Affair. In that Assembly, *Theogiton* the *Megarean* gave his Opinion, That the Honour contended for, was not to be adjudged either to Athens or Sparta, unless they had a Mind to kindle the Flames of a Civil War. After him, *Cleocritus*, the *Corinthian*, rising to speak, every Body concluded he wou'd demand this Honour for his own Country ; for next to Athens and Sparta, Corinth was the most powerful as well as most honourable City of *Greece* ; but they were agreeably deceiv'd, when they found that his Discourse turned wholly in Commendation of the *Platæans*, concluding, That to extinguish this dangerous Contention, they ought to give the Reward and Glory of the Victory to Them only, at which neither of the contending Parties would be jealous or displeased. This Discourse was greatly admired and applauded ; whereupon *Aristides* first agreed to the Proposal, in the Name of the *Athenians*,
and

and afterwards *Pausanias* on the Part of the *Lacedæmonians*.

Being All thus reconcil'd, before they divided the Spoil, they set apart eighty Talents for the *Platæans*, with which they built a Temple, and erected a Statue to *Minerva*, adorning the Temple with curious Pictures, which retain their original Beauty and Lustre to this very Day. But both the *Athenians* and *Lacedæmonians* erected Trophies, each apart by themselves; and sending together to consult the Oracle at *Delphi*, about offering a Sacrifice, the God answer'd, *That they should erect an Altar to Jupiter the Deliverer, but forbear to offer any Sacrifice on it, 'till they had extinguish'd all the Fire in the Country, because it had been polluted and profan'd by the Barbarians; and that they shou'd afterwards fetch pure Fire from the common Altar at Delphi.*

As soon as the *Greeks* were inform'd of this Oracle, the Generals went all over the Country, and caus'd the Fires to be put out; and *Euchidas* a *Platæan* undertaking to fetch Fire from the Altar of *Apollo* with all speed, went to *Delphi*, where having sprinkled and purified himself with Water, putting a Crown of Laurel on his Head, he approach'd the sacred Altar with all due Reverence, and taking Fire from thence hasten'd back to *Platæa*, where he arrived before Sun-set, performing that Day a Journey of a thousand Furlongs: but having saluted his fellow-Citizens, and deliver'd the Fire to them, he immediately fell down, and in a Moment's time expir'd. The *Platæans* carried him away and buried him in the Temple of *Diana*, firnam'd *Enkleia*, and put this Inscription, in one Verse, on his Tomb,

*Here lies Euchidas, who went to Delphi, and
returned in the same Day.*

Most are of Opinion, that *Eucleia* is *Diana*, and call her by that Name; but Others maintain that she was the Daughter of *Hercules* and *Myrto* the Daughter of *Monæ-
tius,*

ius, and Sister of Patroclus, who dying a Virgin was highly honour'd by the *Bæotians* and *Locrians*. For in all the publick Places of their Cities, she has Altars erected, where Persons of both Sexes that are betroth'd offer Sacrifice before their Marriage.

At the first general Assembly of the *Greeks*, after this Victory, *Aristides* propos'd it might be decreed, *That a Council consisting of Deputies from all the Cities of Greece, shou'd be held annually at Plataea, and that every fifth Year they should celebrate Games of Liberty: That a general Levy might be made over all Greece for the War against the Barbarians, of ten thousand Foot, a thousand Horse, and an hundred Sail of Ships: That the Plataeans shou'd be look'd upon as exempt, and sacred to the Service of the Gods, and be only employ'd in offering Prayers and Sacrifices for the Safety and Welfare of Greece.*

All these Particulars being approv'd of and ratified, the *Plataeans* undertook to keep a solemn Anniversary in Honour of Those that were slain in that Place; which they still continue to perform after this manner. On the sixteenth Day of *Maimacterion*, which with the *Bæotians* is the Month *Alalcomenus*, they have a Procession which they begin by Break of Day, it being open'd by a Trumpet sounding a Point of War; then follow several Chariots full of Garlands and Branches of Myrtle, and next to the Chariots a black Bull; then come the young Men that are free-born, carrying the usual Libations, Vessels full of Wine and Milk, and Cruets of Oil and Ointments; for no Slave is allowed to be present at a Solemnity which is perform'd in Honour of Such as died in the Cause of Liberty. And last of all, to shut up the Ceremony, comes the *Archon*, or chief Magistrate of *Plataea*, who at all other Times is obliged not so much as to touch Iron, or wear any Garment but white; but, that Day, cloath'd in a purple Robe girt with a Sword, and carrying in his Hands a Water-pot taken out of the City-Hall, walks through the midst of the City to the Burying-place. Then taking Water in his Pot out of a Fountain, he Himself washes the little Pillars

of

of the Monuments, and rubs them with sweet Ointments, after which he kills the Bull, and lays him on a Funeral Pile. And lastly having made his Supplication to the terrestrial *Jupiter* and *Mercury*, he invites those gallant Men to this Funeral Banquet and Oblation, when filling a Bowl with Wine, and pouring it out, he says, *I present this Bowl to those brave Men who dy'd for the Liberty of Greece.* This is the Manner of that Funeral Solemnity, which the *Platæans* observe to this Day.

When the *Athenians* were return'd Home, *Aristides* perceiving that they endeavour'd every way to get the Government into their Hands, and to establish a Democracy; and considering, on one hand, that they deserv'd a more than ordinary Regard on account of their late gallant Behaviour, and on the other, that it was a difficult Task to curb and restrain Those who had their Weapons still in their Hands, and were much conceited for their Victories, he propos'd this Expedient, That every Citizen shou'd have an equal Right to the Government, and that the *Archon*, or chief Magistrate, shou'd be chosen out of the whole Body of the People, without any Preference or Distinction.

Themistocles declaring one Day, at a publick Assembly of the People, that he had form'd a Design that wou'd be of great Advantage to the State, but that it was of such Importance that it ought to be kept secret, he was order'd to communicate it to *Aristides*, to whose sole Judgment it was referred. And when *Themistocles* had inform'd him that his Project was to burn the whole *Grecian* Navy, by which means the *Athenians* would become so powerful, as to be Lords of all *Greece*, *Aristides* returning to the Assembly, told the *Athenians*, That the Design *Themistocles* had communicated to him was the most advantageous to Athens that cou'd possibly be thought on, but at the same time was highly unjust. Upon which Report the *Athenians* order'd *Themistocles* to desist; such Lovers of Justice were the People, and so high an Esteem and Confidence had this great Man gain'd with

with them, by his Wisdom and Regard to Probity and Truth.

Some time after This, being join'd in Commission with *Cimon*, he was sent against the *Barbarians*; where observing that *Pausanias* and the other *Spartan* Commanders behav'd themselves with too much Haughtiness and State towards all the Allies, he chose a quite different Manner, conversing freely with 'em, and treating 'em with all kind of Courtesy and Condescension; and *Cimon*, in Imitation of his Example, became so affable and agreeable to every Body, that he gave entire Satisfaction. By this means he insensibly stole away the sovereign Command from the *Lacedæmonians*, not by Force of Arms, Horses or Ships, but by his sweet and obliging Behaviour. *Aristides's* Justice, and *Cimon's* Candour had already very much endear'd the *Athenians* to all the Confederates, but the Avarice and Cruelty of *Pausanias* render'd 'em still more desirable. For He always spoke to the Officers roughly and hastily, and as for the common Soldiers, They were either whipt, or oblig'd to stand a whole Day with an Iron Anchor on their Shoulders for the least Offences. Neither durst they provide Forrage for their Horses, Straw for Themselves to lie on, or so much as touch a Spring of Water 'till the *Spartans* were all serv'd, his Servants being constantly posted there to drive away such as offer'd to approach. And when *Aristides* had a mind one Day to expostulate with him on this Head, and shew him the Unreasonableness of such a Procedure, he told him with a fierce and angry Look, *that he had not Leisure to listen to him*, and so refus'd to hear him.

From that Time the Sea-Captains and Land-Officers, and particularly Those of *Cbios*, *Samos* and *Lesbos*, press'd *Aristides* to accept of the General Command of all the Confederate Forces, and receive 'em into his Protection; for that they had a long time desir'd to be deliver'd from the *Spartan* Yoke, and to submit only to the *Athenians*. *Aristides* having heard them, answer'd *That he saw a great deal of Truth, and even*
Necessity

Necessity in what they said, but that it was necessary to perform some Action, that might manifest the Truth and Sincerity of their Intentions, and at the same time fix the Troops beyond a Possibility of changing.

Upon this Answer, *Uliades* the *Samian* and *Antagoras* of *Chios* conspiring together, and solemnly engaging themselves to one another, went boldly and attack'd *Pausanias's* Galley at the Head of the whole Fleet near *Byzantium*. When *Pausanias* perceiv'd their Insolence, he rose up in a Rage, and threaten'd to make 'em soon know that it was not his Galley, but their own Country they had thus insulted. But they only laugh'd at his Threatnings, telling him, that the best thing he cou'd do was to retire, and thank Fortune for her Favours at *Platea*; for that nothing but the Regard they had for that great Action restrain'd the Greeks from resenting and revenging the ill Treatment they had receiv'd at his Hands. In Conclusion, they renounc'd all manner of Submission to the *Spartans*, and rang'd themselves under the *Athenian* Banners.

The wonderful Magnanimity of the *Spartan* People appear'd very fully on this Occasion; for finding that their Generals were grown corrupt through the Greatness of their Power and Authority, they immediately recall'd 'em, and voluntarily laid down the chief Command of the Confederate Forces, choosing rather that their Citizens shou'd be prudent, modest, and strictly observant of their Laws and Customs, than to possess the sovereign Command of all *Greece*.

All the Time the *Lacedaemonians* had the Command, the *Grecians* paid a certain Tax towards carrying on the War; but being now desirous that every City shou'd be justly and equally rated, they begg'd *Aristides* of the *Athenians*, and intrusted him with the Care of examining all the Lands and Revenues, that so each particular Person might pay according to his real Worth and Ability.

Aristides being invested with this great Authority, by which he became in a manner Master of all *Greece*,

was far from abusing the Trust reposed in him ; and if he enter'd upon it poor, he went out of it poorer ; for he levied this Tax, not only justly and equally without any Regard to his own Interest, but likewise with the greatest Tenderness and Humanity, and without the least Oppression. Insomuch, that as the Ancients were wont to celebrate the Reign of *Saturn*, on account of the Justice and Equity that then prevail'd in the World, so the Confederate *Greeks* did by this Taxation of *Aristides*, calling it *The happy Chance of Greece* ; and this Applause was very much heighten'd soon after, when that Taxation was doubled and trebled. *Aristides's* Assessment amounted to no more than four hundred and sixty Talents, and soon after *Pericles* increas'd it almost a third ; for *Thucydides* says, that at the Beginning of the War, the *Athenians* receiv'd six hundred Talents from their Allies ; and after his Death They that had the Government then in their Hands, rais'd it by little and little 'till it came to thirteen hundred ; not that the War grew more expensive, either by its long Continuance, or Want of Success, but because they accusom'd the People to receive Distributions of Money, for the Expence of Plays and fine Paintings, and to erect Statues and Temples.

Aristides having gain'd a wonderful Reputation by the Equity of his Taxation, *Themistocles*, 'tis said, made a Jest of it, and used to say, that the Commendation they gave him on this Account, *was not the Commendation of a Man, but of a Money-Chest, which safely keeps the Money that is put into it without Diminution* : Wherein he revenged himself but very poorly for a Homethrust given him by *Aristides*, whereat he was very much piqued ; for *Themistocles* saying one Day, *that he look'd upon the greatest Excellency of a General to be, to foresee and know the Designs of an Enemy* ; *Aristides* replied, *That it was indeed a necessary Qualification, but that there was another which he had not mentioned, that was equally illustrious and becoming a General, which*

was to have clean Hands, and not to be a Slave to Money.

When *Aristides* had finished the Articles of Alliance, he made all the People of *Greece* swear to the Observation of each Particular; and He himself took the Oath in the Name of the *Athenians*, throwing Pieces of red hot Iron into the Sea, at the same Time that he pronounced Curses against Such as should violate what they had sworn. But afterwards when the *Athenians*, through the Necessity of their Affairs, were forced to be guilty of some Breaches of this Oath, and to rule a little more absolutely, he advised 'em to throw all the Curses upon Him, and so free themselves from the Guilt of that Perjury, which the Necessity of their Affairs required. Upon the whole, *Theophrastus* informs us, that in all his own private Concerns, and Those of his Fellow-Citizens, he was perfectly just; but that in Matters of Government he did many Things according to the present Exigency of Affairs, and their Conduciveness to the publick Good, wherein it often became necessary to fly to Acts of Injustice, and of This he gives several Examples; for he relates, that once in Council where the Debate was about bringing some Treasure to *Athens* that had been deposited at *Delos*, as the *Samians* had advised, tho' contrary to a Treaty, when he came to speak, he said, *that it was expedient, but not just.*

In fine, tho' he had raised his City to so high a Degree of Glory, and established her Dominion over so many People, yet He himself continued poor to the Day of his Death, esteeming his Poverty no less a Glory than all the Laurels he had won, as appears from hence; *Callias* the Torch-bearer, who was his Relation, being accused by his Enemies in a Capital Cause, when the Day of Trial came, they urged the Heads of their Accusation against him very faintly, but enlarged much on an Affair that was foreign to the Charge, telling the Judges, *You know Aristides the Son of Lyfima-*
chus,

thus, who, for his *Virtue and Wisdom*, is deservedly the *Admiration* of all Greece. How do You think this poor Man lives at Home, when You see him appear every Day abroad at publick Meetings in a sorry thread-bare Coat? Is it not reasonable to imagine that He who shakes with Cold without Doors, is ready to starve with Hunger, and wants Necessaries within? Yet does Callias, the richest Man in all Athens, wholly neglect this Person, who is his Cousin-German, suffering him, with his Wife and Children, to live in extreme Necessity, notwithstanding he has received great Services from him, and on several Occasions made use of his Credit and Interest with You.

Callias perceiving that his Judges were more exasperated and moved at this Reproach, than at all the other Crimes of which he had been accused, and fearing the ill Effect that might arise from thence, summoned *Aristides* to appear and testify in his Behalf, that he had not only offered him Money several Times, but mightily press'd him to accept it, which he had always obstinately refused, making him this Answer, *It better becomes Aristides to make a Shew of his Poverty, than Callias of his Wealth; for many People make a bad, as well as a good Use of Riches, but 'tis hard to find One that bears Poverty bravely and nobly, and They only are ashamed of it who are forced to bear it against their Wills.*

Aristides having given this Deposition in *Callias's* Behalf, there was not one Person that went out of the Assembly but was more in Love with *Aristides's* Poverty than his Kinsman's Wealth. This is the Account left us by *Eschines*, the Disciple of *Socrates*; and *Plato*, among all the *Athenians* that were Persons of Eminence and Distinction, judged None of them but *Aristides* worthy of real Esteem. As for *Themistocles*, *Cimon*, and *Pericles*, they filled the City with fine Buildings, Wealth, and such vain Superfluities, but *Aristides*, in his Administration of Affairs, always had a Regard to Virtue.

He gave manifest Proofs of his great Candour and Goodness in his Behaviour, even towards *Themistocles* Himself. For tho' he had been his constant Enemy on all Occasions, and the Cause of his Banishment; yet when a fair Opportunity for Revenge was offered, upon *Themistocles's* being accused of capital Crimes against his Country, he shewed no Resentment of the Injuries he had received, refused to join with *Alcmeon*, *Cimon* and several Others in the Prosecution, said Nothing at all to his Disadvantage, nor in the least insulted him in his Misfortunes, as he had never envied him in his Prosperity.

As to *Aristides's* Death, Some affirm that he died in *Pontus*, whither he was gone upon some Affairs relating to the Publick; Others, that he died of old Age at *Athens*, in great Honour, Esteem, and Veneration with his Fellow-Citizens: But the Account given us of this great Man's Death by *Craterus* the *Macedonian*, is as follows. After the Banishment of *Themistocles*, the Pride and Insolence of the Populace gave Rise to a great Number of false Witnesses that attack'd the Reputation of the chiefest and most virtuous Men in the City, exposing 'em to the Envy of the People, who were at that Time highly elated by their Success and Power. *Aristides* Himself did not escape, but fell under a Sentence of Condemnation, having been accused by *Diophantus* of *Amphitrope*, of taking a Bribe from the *Ionians* at the Time of his levying the Tax. He adds, that being unable to pay his Fine, which was fifty *Minas*, he set sail from *Athens*, and died somewhere in *Ionia*. But *Craterus* produces no written Proof of This, neither the Sentence pass'd against him, nor the publick Decree; tho' on other Occasions he is careful to collect this sort of Evidence, and to cite his Authors. Almost all the other Writers that have undertaken to give an Account of the People's Injustice towards their Governors and Generals, make particular Mention of *Themistocles's* Banishment, *Miltiades's* Imprisonment, *Pericles's* Fine, and the Death

of *Paches*, who, upon receiving Sentence, killed himself in the Judgment-Hall, before the Tribunal; besides several other Things of the like Nature; but None of 'em, any where, speak one Word of this Condemnation of *Aristides* mentioned by *Craterus*.

To this, I further add, that his Monument is still to be seen at *Phalera*, which was erected at the Charge of the City, he not having left enough behind him to defray his Funeral Expences. 'Tis likewise said, that his Daughters were provided for out of the *Prytaneum*, or publick Treasury, the City having undertaken to see them married, and allotted Each of 'em three thousand Drachmas for her Portion. The People likewise bestowed on his Son *Lyfimachus* an hundred *Minas* of Silver, and a Plantation of as many Acres of Land, besides a Pension of four Drachmas a Day, confirmed to him by a Decree drawn up by *Alcibiades* Himself. *Callisthenes* writes further, that *Lyfimachus* dying and leaving a Daughter whose Name was *Polycrite*, the People assigned her the same Allowance with Those that conquered at the *Olympick Games*. *Demetrius* the *Phalerian*, *Hieronymus* the *Rhodian*, *Aristoxenus* the Musician, and *Aristotle* Himself, if the Treatise concerning Nobility, that is found among his Works, be really His, affirm that *Myrto*, *Aristides's* Grand-daughter, was married to *Socrates* so renowned for his Wisdom, who had another Wife at the same time, but took Her, because she was too poor to get her another Husband. But This is sufficiently confuted by *Panætius*, in his Life of that Philosopher.

The same *Demetrius*, in a Treatise, entitled *Socrates*, writes, that he remembers to have seen one *Lyfimachus*, Grandson to *Aristides*, who being very poor, sat constantly near the Temple of *Bacchus*, having certain Tables, by which he interpreted Dreams for a Livelihood; and that he himself got a Decree to be past, by which his Mother and Aunt were allowed half a Drachma a-day for their Subsistence. He writes further, that when he afterwards undertook to reform the

Atbenian Laws, he ordered each of those Women a Drachma a-day. And 'tis no wonder that the People of *Athens* took such great Care of their Poor that lived in the City with them, and whom they saw daily, when hearing that a Grand-daughter of *Aristogiton's* lived very poorly in the Isle of *Lemnos*, they sent for her to *Athens*, and married her to one of the richest and most considerable Persons there, giving her for a Portion an Estate in the Borough of *Potamos*. This City, even in our Days, continues to give so many Proofs of the like Humanity and Bounty, that it has upon that Account deservedly gained the Applause, Esteem, and Admiration of the whole World,





THE
L I F E
O F
CATO the Censor.

THIS said that *Cato*, who had the Sirname of *Marcus* from his Father, was born at *Tusculum*, of which Place his Family was originally ; and that, before he intermeddled with Civil or Military Affairs, he lived at an Estate which his Father left him near the Country of the *Sabines*. Notwithstanding his Ancestors were generally reckoned very obscure Persons, entirely unknown, yet he boasts of his Father *Marcus* as of a great and valiant Warrior, and assures us, that his Grandfather *Cato* received several military Rewards, or Prizes of Honour, and that having had five Horses slain under him in Battle, the Value of them was paid him out of the publick Treasury, as an Acknowledgment of the signal Proofs he had given of his Bravery and Valour. As the *Romans* always called such Persons *New Men*, who having received no Dignity or Lustre from their Ancestors, were beginning to distinguish and make themselves eminent by their personal Virtues ; so they bestowed

showed that Appellation upon *Cato*: But he used to confess that with respect to Honours and Dignities he was indeed new, but in regard to the great Actions and Services of his Ancestors he was very ancient.

His third Name, at first, was not *Cato*, but *Priscus*, tho' it was afterwards changed to that of *Cato*, on account of his great Wisdom; the *Romans* calling wise Men *Catos*. He had a red Face and gray Eyes, as appears from an Epigram made upon him by one of his Enemies after his Death,

*Porcius with Cats gray Eyes, and ruby Face,
Who only snarles and rails in every Place;
Ev'n now, when dead, will no Admittance gain,
Where Pluto, or where Proserpine do reign.*

As to his Temperament and Disposition of Body, by means of a sober and regular Life, and constant Pains and Exercise, to which he was early accustomed, by being bred up in a Camp, he had contracted a good Habit with respect to Strength as well as Health: And as for Elocution, or Eloquence, That he looked upon as a second Body, and not only as an useful but necessary Instrument for every Person that would not live in Obscurity, but must be concerned in publick Affairs, and therefore took particular Care to cultivate and improve it. He went and pleaded in several Boroughs and little neighbouring Villages, undertaking the Defence of All that applied to him, insomuch that he was soon reckoned a good Lawyer, zealous for his Clients, and afterwards gain'd the Reputation of a good Orator.

From this time forward All that convers'd much with him discovered such a Gravity of Behaviour, such a Greatness of Mind, and such a Superiority of Genius as were fit for the Management of the greatest Affairs, even in the Sovereign City of the World. He not only shew'd his Disinterestedness and contempt of Money by refusing to take any Fees for Pleading, but it further appear'd that the Honour arising from such Contests

was

was not that kind of Glory he aimed at, or could be satisfied with; his sole Ambition being to distinguish himself against an Enemy in the Field. While he was but a Youth his Breast was full of Scars from the Wounds he had received in Battle; for he says himself that he was but seventeen Years old when he made his first Campaign, at the time when *Hannibal* was so successful in ravaging and laying *Italy* waste with Fire and Sword. His Manner in Battle was never to give way, but constantly advance, to strike sharply, and with a fierce Countenance stare the Enemy in the Face; being with Reason convinced Himself, and convincing Others, that such a Behaviour often strikes more Terror into an Enemy than the Sword itself. He always marched on Foot, and carried his own Arms, followed only by one Servant that carried his Provisions. And 'tis said, he never was in a Passion, or angry with that Servant, whatever he provided him to eat, but would often, when he was at leisure from military Duty, ease and assist him in dressing it. All the time he continued in the Army, he drank nothing but Water, unless sometimes when he was extremely thirsty he would ask for a little Vinegar, or when he found himself fatigued and dispirited he would take a little Wine.

Near his Country-seat was a little Farm-house that heretofore belonged to *Manius Curius*, who had been thrice honoured with a Triumph. *Cato* often walked thither, and reflecting on the Smallness of the Farm, and Poorness of the Dwelling, used to think with himself, what kind of Person He must needs be, who, after he became the greatest Man in *Rome*, conquered the most warlike Nations, and expelled *Pyrrhus* out of *Italy*, cultivated this little Spot of Ground Himself, and after so many Triumphs, dwelt in so mean a Cottage. There it was, said he to himself, that the Ambassadors of the *Samnites* found him cooking Turnips in the Chimney Corner, and having offered him a large Present of Gold, received this Answer from him; *That He who could be content with such a Supper, wanted no Gold, and that he*
thought

thought it more glorious to conquer the Owners of it, than to possess the Gold itself.

Full of these Thoughts he returned home, and taking a Review of his House, Estate, Servants, and Charge of House-keeping, increased his daily Labour, and retrenched all unnecessary Expences.

When *Fabius Maximus* took the City of *Tarentum*, *Cato*, who was then very young, served under him. Happening at that time to lodge with one *Nearchus* a *Pythagorean*, he desired to hear some of his Philosophy; and finding his Reflections the same with *Plato's*, that Pleasure is the greatest Allurement to Evil, that the greatest Plague and Calamity of the Soul is the Body, from which it cannot disengage and free itself in this World, but by such Thoughts and Reasonings as wean and separate it from all corporeal Passions and Affections, He was so much charmed with his Discourse, that he grew more in love with Frugality and Temperance. 'Tis said, however, that he learned *Greek* very late, and that he was considerably advanced in Years when he began to read the *Grecian* Writers, among whom he received some Advantage from *Thucydides*, but much more from *Demosthenes*, towards forming his Style, and improving his Eloquence: At least we find his Writings handsomely adorned and enriched with Maxims and Histories borrowed from *Greek* Originals; and among his Morality and Sentences, a great many things literally translated and taken from thence.

There liv'd at that time a certain *Roman* Nobleman of great Power and Eminence, called *Valerius Flaccus*, whose Sagacity and Penetration enabled him to discern a budding Virtue, and whose Goodness and Generosity inclined him to cherish and advance it. This Person having an Estate adjoining to *Cato's*, often heard his Servants speak of his Neighbour's manner of Life, and the great Pains he took with his own Hands; how he would go early in the Morning to the little neighbouring Villages, to plead and defend the Causes of Such as applied themselves to him; that from thence he would return

turn into his Field, where throwing a sorry Jacket over his Shoulders, if it was Winter, or naked, if it was Summer, he would labour with his Domesticks, and, when their Work was over, would sit down with them at the same Table, eat of the same Bread, and drink of the same Wine. They related likewise several other Proofs of his Condescension and Moderation, repeating many of his Sayings, which were so many wise and profound Sentences.

Valerius pleased with these Relations sent to invite him to Dinner; and from that time, by frequent Conversation, discover'd in him so much Sweetness of Temper, Probity, Politeness and Wit, that he seem'd to him like an excellent Plant, that deserved better Culture, and to be removed to a better Soil; he therefore advised and persuaded him to go to *Rome*, and apply himself to Affairs of Policy and State.

He had not been long there before his Pleading gained him Friends and Admirers; and *Valerius's* great Respect for him, and Endeavours to advance him, adding to his general Esteem, he was first made a Military Tribune, and afterwards *Quæstor*. And having gained great Reputation and Esteem in those Posts, he was joined with *Valerius* himself in the highest Dignities and Commands, being Fellow-Consul with him, and afterwards Censor.

Among all the ancient Senators, he, at first, attach'd himself chiefly to *Fabius Maximus*, not so much on account of the Greatness of his Power and Authority, as because he esteemed and admired him most, looking upon his Conduct and manner of Life as the best Model by which to form his Own: So that he made no Scruple of falling out with the great *Scipio*, who, tho' he was at that time very young, was the Person that most opposed and envied the Glory and Grandeur of *Fabius*. For being sent Treasurer of the Army with *Scipio* in the *African War*, and finding the General live according to his usual manner, at a very expensive Rate, and give his Troops Money without the least Thrift, or good Management, he spoke freely to him, and told him, *That the*
Greatness

Greatness of the Expence itself was not the greatest Damage to the Publick; but that it was an irreparable Injury to corrupt the ancient Simplicity of the Soldiery, by accustoming them to spend in Luxury and Riot the Overplus of a Pay that ought to be only sufficient for their necessary Occasions; to which Scipio reply'd, That he had no occasion for so exact a Treasurer, for he would make an expeditious War of it, and that he ought to give the People an account of the Actions he performed, but not of the Money he spent.

Upon this Answer, Cato left Sicily and returned to Rome, where, together with Fabius, making a mighty Noise in the Senate against Scipio's vast and needless Expences; and that he spent his Time childishly at the Play-houses and Wrestling-matches, as if he had not been sent to make War, but exhibit publick Games and Diversions, he prevailed so far, that Tribunes were sent to examine the Matter; and in case the Accusation prov'd true, to bring Scipio back to Rome.

When the Tribunes were arrived in the Army, Scipio represented to them, That the Success of that War depended entirely on the great Expence and Preparations that had been made for it; and made it appear, That indeed, when he was at leisure, he had liv'd cheerfully with his Friends, but that his Liberality and Bounty had not hindred him from observing a strict and exact Discipline, or made him omit any thing of Moment and Consequence. With this Answer the Tribunes were satisfied, and Scipio continued his March towards Africa.

But to return to Cato; the Power and Reputation he gained by his Eloquence increased daily; so that he was generally styled the Roman Demosthenes; but what was still more admired and talk'd of was his Manner of Life. In Eloquence, he had many Rivals, all the Youth of Rome aspiring at the Glory of speaking well, and endeavouring to excel each other; but in every thing else he had very few Imitators; for 'twas very rare to meet with Persons like Him, that would till their Ground with their own Hands, that would be content with a Dinner

Dinner cook'd without Fire, and a spare frugal Supper at Night; that would be satisfied with a plain Dress and a poor Cottage, and account it more reputable not to want Superfluities than to possess them. The State was now no longer able to preserve the Purity and Severity of its ancient Discipline by reason of its vast Extent, but by means of the great Variety of different Affairs under its Management, and the infinite Number of People that submitted to its Government, was forced to receive a confused Medley of Customs and new Fashions of living. Justly therefore was *Cato* admired, who Alone, when all the other Citizens were frightened at Labour, and softned by Pleasure, remained unconquered by Either, not only in his Youth, and at the height of his Ambition, but in his old Age, when his Hair was silvered over by Time, after his Consulship and Triumphs; like a brave Wrestler, who after he has come off Conqueror, observes his common Rules, and continues his usual Exercises to the very last.

He writes himself, that he never wore a Garment that cost more than a hundred *Drachmas*; even when he was General, or Consul, he drank the same Wine with his Servants; that the Provisions for his Table at Dinner never cost above thirty *Sesterces*; and all This was done out of love to his Country, that his Body being made strong and robust, by a plain spare Diet, might be rendered more able to sustain the Fatigues of War.

He adds, that having a Piece of fine *Babylonian* Tapesty left him by a Friend, he sold it the same Day; that in all his Country Houses, he had not a Wall plaistered or white wash'd; that he never gave above fifteen hundred *Drachmas* for a Slave, always refusing such as were handfom, nice and well made, and choosing Those that were strong and fit for Labour, to drive his Cattle, or take care of his Horses, and these Slaves he thought he ought to sell again when they were grown old, that he might not maintain useless Creatures. In a word, he reckon'd nothing cheap that was superfluous, but that

every thing, tho' it cost but a Farthing, was dear, if needless; and preferr'd good arable Land and Pasture to Gardens or Walks that require much watering or sweeping.

Some impute This to Niggardliness and sordid Avarice; but Others maintain, that he deny'd and confin'd himself within narrower Bounds, on purpose to correct and amend by his Example the Extravagance and Luxury of his Fellow-Citizens. For my Part, I look upon it as a Sign of a vile Disposition, and of a mean sordid Soul, to use Servants like Beasts of Burden, and after their Ends are serv'd, to turn 'em off, or to sell 'em in their old Age; as if they thought that no Communication or Commerce was to be maintain'd between Man and Man, any further than Necessity or Interest requir'd. Besides we see that Good-nature, or Humanity, has a larger Field than bare Justice to exercise itself in; for we were born to observe Law and Equity between Man and Man, and with Respect only to one another, but we may extend our Kindness and Beneficence to irrational Creatures; and such Acts flow from a mild good Nature, as Water from an exuberant Fountain.

'Tis indeed agreeable to a humane good-natur'd Man to keep even his Cart-Horses and Dogs, and not only take care of them whilst they are young and useful, but when they are grown old and past their Labour. Thus the *Athenians*, after they had finish'd the Temple call'd *HECATOMPEDON*, set at Liberty all the Beasts of Burden that had been employ'd on that Occasion, suffering them to feed at large in the Pastures, free from any further Service; and 'tis said that one of These coming afterwards of its own Accord to offer its Service, by putting itself at the Head of Teams that drew the Carriages to the Castle, and going all the way before 'em, as it were to incite and encourage 'em to undergo their Labour, a Decree was made that it should be kept at the publick Charge 'till it died. The Graves of *Cimon's* Mares with which he thrice conquer'd at the Olympick Games are still to be seen near his own Monument.

nument. Many others have taken care to bury their Dogs when dead, which when alive they always us'd like familiar Friends. The Story of old *Xantbippus*, the Father of *Pericles*, is well known. When the *Atbenians*, in the Time of the *Perſian War*, were forc'd to abandon their City, and retire to *Salamine*, *Xantbippus* embark'd along with the reſt ; but his Dog, unable to bear the Loſs of his Maſter, leap'd into the Sea, and ſwam after his Veſſel to *Salamine*, where as ſoon as he came on Shore, he died, and was by his Maſter interred there, and his Monument is ſtill to be ſeen, from thence called *The Dog's Tomb*, to this very Day. For we ought not to uſe living Creatures as we do Shoes or Houſhold Goods, which we throw away when they are worn out with Uſe ; and were it only to qualify ourſelves for Acts of Humanity, we ſhou'd by long Uſe accuſtom ourſelves to be tender and humane in theſe little Matters. As for my own Part, I know very well, that I cou'd not on any Account whatever rid myſelf of an Ox grown old in my Service, much leſs cou'd I ever reſolve to part with an old Servant for a little Money, and expel him as it were from his Country, by turning him out of my Houſe, and forcing him from his uſual Place of Abode, and manner of Living ; eſpecially conſidering that he wou'd be as uſeleſs to the Perſon that bought him, as he was to me that ſold him.

Notwithſtanding this, *Cato* as it were in a boaiſting manner tells us, that he left behind him in *Spain* the Horſe that he rode when he commanded there ; that he might not put the Publick to the Charge of carrying him from thence to *Italy*. But whether ſuch Things as Theſe are to be aſcrib'd to a Greatneſs or Meanneſs of Soul, is left to the Reader's Judgment to decide. However as to his Temperance he was really to be admir'd, for it exceeded every thing that can be imagin'd.

All the Time he commanded the Army, he never demanded of the Publick above three Buſhels of Wheat a Month for Himſelf and his whole Family, and leſs than a Buſhel and a half of Barley a-day for his Horſes.

and Carriages. When he was Governor of *Sardinia*, tho' his Predecessors us'd to put the Publick to a great Expence for Tents, Bedding and Cloaths, and to become a further Charge to 'em by a vast and numerous Retinue of Friends and Domesticks, besides Plays, Entertainments and the like; He, on the contrary, became only remarkable for an incredible and unheard-of Plainness and Frugality in all his Expences: For he never took one Penny of the Publick, and when he visited the Cities under his Government, he went on Foot, without any Carriage, attended only by one publick Officer, who carried his Garment and a Vessel for Sacrificing. But if in such Things as These he appear'd easy, plain, and agreeable to All that were under his Command, he on the other hand made 'em feel his Gravity and Severity in every Thing else; for he was inexorable and immovable in whatever related to publick Justice, and inflexibly strict and rigid in the Execution of all his Orders: So that the *Roman* Government had never 'till then appear'd to that People either so terrible, or so amiable.

The same Character, that is to say, the same Mixture of contrary Qualities that appears in his Conduct and Behaviour, may likewise be found in his Style, which is at the same time courteous and strong, soft and vehement, facetious and austere, sententious and yet plain and familiar, like what is used in common Conversation and Discourse. And as *Plato* says of *Socrates*, that he appeared outwardly, at first View, an unpolite, ill-look'd lewd Fellow, but that he was full of Virtue within, and spoke such pathetic and divine Things as would move the very Soul, and force Tears from the Hearers Eyes: The same may be said of *Cato*; so that I cannot comprehend their Meaning, who have compared his Style to That of *Lyfias*: however we shall leave This to be determined by Such, to whom it more properly belongs to distinguish between and judge of the several Kinds of *Roman* Styles: For my own Part, being persuaded that the Dispositions and Manners of Men may better be discovered by their Words than their Looks,

where

where notwithstanding they are generally sought for, I shall here write down some of his most remarkable Sayings.

One Day when the People clamour'd violently and unseasonably for a Distribution of Corn, to dissuade them from it, he began to harangue them thus ; *'Tis a difficult Task, my Fellow-Citizens, to speak to a Belly that has no Ears.* Another time reproving the excessive Luxury of the Roman Tables, he said, *'Twas hard to save a City where a Fish was sold for more than an Ox.* On another Occasion he said, *The Roman People were like Sheep, for as a single Sheep will not of Himself do any thing, or obey the Shepherd Alone, but does all for Company, constantly following the Flock ; just so is it with You Romans ; those Counsellors whose single Advice You would scorn to follow, when alone, lead You as they please, when together. You follow one another's Example exactly like Sheep,*

In another Discourse that he made against the Authority that Wives assumed over their Husbands, he said, *All Men usually govern the Women, We govern all Men, and our Wives govern Us.* But this Saying might have been taken from the Apotegms of Themistocles, whose Son governing him in many things through his Mother, he said to her, *Wife, the Athenians, govern all the Greeks, I govern the Athenians, thou governeest me, and thy Son governs thee ; let Him therefore use his Power more sparingly, which, as silly as he is, makes him Master of all Greece.*

Another time he said, *that the People of Rome put a Price not only upon several kinds of Colours ; but likewise upon Studies and Arts ; for, added he, as Dyers dye such Purples as please best, and are most esteemed, so our Youth only study and search after such things as you approve and commend.*

Exhorting them once to Virtue, he said, *If ye are become great by Virtue and Wisdom, don't change for the worse ; but if it be by Intemperance and Vice, change that you may become the better, for ye are that way great enough already.*

Concerning such Persons as made Interest for Places, he used to say, *that they were People who not knowing their Way, for fear of losing it, sought for Tip-staffs and Mace-bearers, to go before and conduct them.*

He reproved his Fellow-Citizens for often choosing the same Persons to the highest Posts and Dignities, *You, said he, either put no great Value on your Posts of Honour, or else you can't find many Persons worthy to fill them.*

Concerning one of his Enemies who led a very shameful and infamous Life, he said, *his Mother takes it for a Curse and not a Prayer, when any one wishes this Son may survive her.*

One Day pointing at a Man who had sold an Estate left him by his Father near the Sea-side, he pretended to admire at the Man as One stronger than the Sea itself; for, said he, *what the Sea could not undermine and overflow without great Difficulty, He has swallowed at once without any Pains at all.*

When King Eumenes came to Rome the Senate received him with all imaginable Honour, and all the Romans thronged about him, striving to outdo one another in making their Court to him; but it plainly appeared that Cato despis'd and endeavoured to shun him; whereupon One said to him, *Why do you thus shun Eumenes, who is so good a King, and so great a Friend to the Romans? As good a King as you please,* reply'd he, *but I know very well that that same Animal of a King is a Man-eater; nor is there One among the most renowned of them All that can be compared to Epaminondas, Pericles, Themistocles, Manius Curius, or even to Amilcar Sirnamed Barcas.*

He often said, *that his Enemies bated him because he rose before Day, not to take care of his own Affairs but those of the Commonwealth; that he had rather do well, and not be rewarded, than do ill and not be punished; and that he could pardon other Mens Faults, but never forgive his own.*

The Romans having on a certain time named three Ambassadors to go to the King of *Bitbynia*, One of which had the Gout, the Other had his Skull trepann'd, and the Third was reckoned a Fool, *Cato* made himself merry with this fine Choice, and said, *That Rome had sent an Embassy that had neither Feet, Head, nor Brains.*

Being solicited by *Scipio*, at the Request of *Polybius*, to favour the Cause of Those that were banished out of *Achaia*, when the Matter came before the Senate, there were great Debates, Some declaring for the Return of the Exiles, and their being restored to their Estates, while Others opposed it; but *Cato* rising up when it came to his Turn to speak, said, *We trifle away a whole Day here, as if we had nothing else to do but to debate whether a Parcel of sorry old Greeks shall be interred by our Grave-diggers, or by Those of their own Country.* The Decree of the Senate was, that the Exiles should return home.

Some Days after *Polybius* begged leave to appear before the Senate, in order to present a Petition in Behalf of those Exiles, that they might be restored to the Honours they enjoyed before their Banishment; but before he took this Step, he waited upon *Cato* to know his Opinion of the matter, and told him his Design; at which *Cato* smiled and said, *Polybius, you do not imitate the Wisdom of Ulysses; you have a mind to return to the Cyclop's Cave for a Hat and Belt you left behind.*

He used to say, *that wise Men learn more from Fools, than Fools from wise Men; because wise Men shun the Follies of Fools, but Fools will not follow the Example of wise Men.*

He used to say further, *that he loved young People that blush'd, rather than Such as grew pale; and that he did not like a Soldier that mov'd his Hands in marching, and his Feet in fighting, and who snored louder in Bed than he shouted in Battle.*

In order to make a Jest on a huge fat Fellow, he said, *Of what Service to his Country can a Body be, that is nothing but Belly?* When

When a certain voluptuous *Epicure* courted his Friendship, he peremptorily refused it, saying, *that he could not live with a Man whose Palate had a quicker Sensation than his Heart.*

He used to say, *that the Soul of a Lover lived in the Body of another*; and that in all his Life he never repented but of three Things; the First was, *that he had trusted a Secret to a Woman*; the Second, *that he had gone by Water when he might have gone by Land*; and the Third, *that he had spent a Day without doing any thing at all.* To a very debauched old Fellow, he said, *Friend, old Age has Deformities enow of its own, do not add to it the Deformity of Vice.*

A Tribune of the People who was suspected to be a Poisoner, proposing an unjust Law which he took pains to have passed, *Cato* said to him, *Young Man, I don't know which is the most dangerous, to drink what you prepare, or to enact what you propose.*

Being scurrilously treated by a Fellow who led a licentious and dissolute Life, *A Contest*, said he, *between Thee and Me is very unequal*; for *Thou canst bear ill Language with ease, and return it with Pleasure*; but as for my part, 'tis unusual to Me to bear it, and disagreeable to speak it.

These are such of his Sayings and Answers as have been transmitted to us, which sufficiently shew the Man.

Being chosen Consul with his Friend *Valerius Flaccus*, the Government of that Part of *Spain*, by the Romans called *Citerior*, fell to his Lot. There, having subdued some of those Nations by Force of Arms, and won others by Kindness, he found himself all at once surrounded by an Army of *Barbarians*, and in danger of being defeated, and consequently of being driven out of his new Settlements. Whereupon he sent forthwith to desire the Assistance of the *Celtiberians*, his Neighbours; but they demanding two hundred Talents, as a Reward for their Service, all the Officers of the Army thought it intolerable that the *Romans* should be obliged

to

to purchase Assistance of Barbarians; but Cato said, *This Bargain is not so bad as you imagine; for if we conquer, we will pay them at the Expence of our Enemies; but if we are conquered, there will be no Body either to pay, or make the Demand.* But he won the Battle, and every thing succeeded according to his Desire. Polybius says, *that the Walls of all the Cities of that part of Spain, that lies on this side the River Bætis were raz'd by his Command in one and the same Day, notwithstanding they were many in number, and all of them full of brave and warlike Men.* Cato himself writes, *that he took more Cities than he spent Days in his Expedition; nor is this a piece of Vain Boasting, for they were in reality four hundred in number.*

Notwithstanding his Troops had taken a prodigious Booty in this Expedition, yet he gave to each Man a pound of Silver, saying, *that it was better that All of them should return home with a little Silver, than only a Few with a great deal of Gold.* And as for his own part, he assures us, *that of all the things that were taken during the whole War, nothing came to his Share but what he eat and drank.* Not, said he, *that I blame Such as make an Advantage of these Opportunities; but because I had rather contend with the best Men for Valour, than with the Richest for Wealth, or with the most Covetous for Love of Money.*

And he not only kept himself clear from all kind of Plunder and Extortion, but likewise all his Servants, and such as were more immediately under his Command.

He had brought five Servants with him to the Army, One of which, whose Name was *Paccus*, having bought three Boys out of Those that were taken Prisoners, and finding his Master had Knowledge of it, durst not appear before him, but chose rather to hang himself than come into his Presence; whereupon Cato caused the three Boys to be sold, and the Price of them to be put into the publick Treasure.

While

While he was busy in settling the Affairs of *Spain*, *Scipio* the Great, who was his Enemy, and had a mind to put a Stop to the Course of his Success, and have the Honour of finishing the War Himself, prevail'd so far by his secret Practices and Intrigues, as to be chosen to succeed him in that Government. After which he lost no time at all, but made all possible Haste to take from *Cato* the Command of the Army; but He, hearing of his March, went to meet him, taking with him five Companies of Foot, and five hundred Horse, as a Convoy to attend him, and by the Way defeated the *Lacetanians*, and took among them six hundred Roman Deserters, whom he caused to be put to Death: And when *Scipio* seemed to resent it, he told him with a Smile *that Rome would then be great indeed if Men of Birth would dispute the first Place of Valour with Those who were more obscure, and if They, who were of the Commonality, as He himself was, would contend in Valour with Those, who were more eminent and honourable.*

Now the Senate decreeing, that Nothing of what had been established by *Cato* should be altered, it came to pass, that the Honour *Scipio* had so much courted, lessened His Glory more than *Cato's*; for the whole time of his Government was spent to no manner of purpose, without any Wars at all, or performing one remarkable Action.

Nor did *Cato*, even after his Triumph, remit or slacken the Reins of Virtue, as many of Those do, who strive not for Virtue's sake, but Vain-glory, and having attained the highest Honours pass the rest of their Life in Pleasure and Idleness, and so quit all Affairs relating to the Publick: But He, like Those who are just got into Office, and thirst after Honour and Glory, stretch'd himself out as at the Beginning of a Race, being always ready to serve his Country either at the Bar, or in the Field. Thus he attended the Consul *Tiberius Sempronius*, who was sent into *Thrace*, and upon the *Danube*, and served as a Lieutenant under him;

him; and afterwards as a Tribune or Commander of a thousand Men under the Consul *Manius Acilius Glabrio*, when he was sent into *Greece* against King *Antiochus*, who, next to *Hannibal*, seemed the most dreadful Enemy the *Romans* ever had; for having taken from *Seleucus Nicanor* all the Provinces he possess'd in *Asia*, and reduced to his Obedience several barbarous, but warlike Nations, in the Pride of his Success, he turned his victorious Arms against the *Romans*, as against the only People that were a Match for him, and able to dispute with him the Empire of the World: So he marched against them with a powerful Army, colouring his Design with the specious Pretence of freeing the *Greeks*; of which they stood in no need, since they were already made free, and enjoyed the full Liberty of their Laws, having been lately delivered from the Yoke of King *Philip*, and the *Macedonians*, by the Kindness of the *Romans* themselves.

At his Approach all *Greece* was in a Commotion, and unresolved how to act, having been corrupted by the mighty Hopes given them by the Partizans and popular Speakers that *Antiochus* had won over to his Interest; but *Acilius* sent Ambassadors to them, and confirmed them in their Duty. *Titus Flaminius* likewise did, without much trouble, baffle the Attempts of those Innovators, of which we have given an account in his Life; *Cato* also gave new Courage to the People of *Corinth*, as well as to Those of *Patras* and *Ægeum*, and stay'd a great while at *Athens*. 'Tis said likewise, that there is still extant an Oration of His that he spoke in *Greek* to the People of *Athens* on that Occasion, in which he highly extols the Virtue of their Ancestors, and sets forth the great Pleasure he had to behold the Beauty and Grandeur of that renowned City. But this Report is not true, for he only spoke to the *Athenians* by an Interpreter; not that he was unable to speak to them in their own Tongue, but his Intention was to maintain the Dignity of the *Roman* Language, and ridicule Those who admired nothing but
what

what was Greek. Thus he made a Jest of *Posthumius Albinus*, who having written an History in *Greek*, asked his Readers Pardon for the Improproprieties he might be guilty of in a strange Language, *He ought, without doubt, to be pardoned*, said *Cato*, *had he been obliged to write this History by Order of the Amphictyons*. The *Athenians*, they say, admired the Strength and Brevity of his Stile; for what he expressed in a few Words, the Interpreter was forced to explain by long and tedious Circumlocutions; insomuch that he left them in this Belief, that the Words of the *Greeks* flowed only from their Lips, whilst Those of the *Romans* came from their Hearts.

When *Antiochus* had possessed himself of the Passes on the Mountains called *Thermopylae*, and to the natural Strength of the Place had added Intrinchments and Walls, he sat at rest there, believing himself secure from any Attack of the *Romans*, and that he had diverted the War another way; for the *Romans* themselves despaired of being ever able to force those Passes: But *Cato* calling to mind the Compass and Circuit the *Persians* had formerly taken to attack the *Greeks* in the same Place, began to march by Night with part of the Army.

As they were endeavouring to reach the Top of the Mountains, the Guide, who was a Prisoner, missed his Way, and wandring up and down thro' unpassable Places, full of Precipices, put the Soldiers into an unexpressible Dread and Despair. *Cato* perceiving the Danger, commanded the rest of the Army to halt and go no further; and taking with him one *Lucius Mallius*, a Man wonderfully dextrous at climbing the steepest Mountains, he marched forward with great Pains and Danger of his Life in a very dark Night, without the least Moonshine, clambering over wild Olive Trees, and steep craggy Rocks which stopp'd their View, and hinder'd 'em from seeing the Way before 'em.

At length, after a vast deal of Pains, they fell into a little Path, which seemed to lead 'em down to the
Bottom

Bottom of the Mountain where the Enemy lay encamped. There they set up Marks upon the most conspicuous Tops of the Mountains, and on the Edges of such as hung over the Mountain *Callidromus*; and returning the same Way back to the Army, they led it with them by the Direction of the Marks they had left, 'till they got into the little Path again, where they halted and made a proper Disposition of their Troops. After they had gone a little further, the Path fail'd 'em all at once, and they saw before 'em a vast impassible Bog, which threw 'em into new Despair, and a greater Fear than before; for they did not know, nor cou'd perceive that they were any way nearer the Enemy.

The Day began now to appear, when some one among them thought he heard a Noise, and Mens Voices, and a little after, that he saw the *Grecian* Camp, and their advanced Guard at the Foot of the Rock. *Cato* therefore making an Halt, commanded the *Firmians* alone to come to him. These were the Troops of whose Courage and Fidelity he had made the greatest Proof on all hazardous Occasions. When they were come, and stood round him in close Order, he spoke thus to 'em; *I want to take one of the Enemy alive, to know of him what these advanced Troops are, and how many in Number, and to be informed of the Disposition and Order of their whole Army, and what Preparation they have made to receive us; but to execute This, requires the Speed and Courage of Lions, who rush unarmed into the midst of a Flock of timorous Beasts.*

Cato had no sooner done speaking but the *Firmians*, All just as they were, rush'd down the Mountain, ran violently upon the advanced Guard, surpris'd 'em unawares, put 'em in Disorder, dispers'd 'em, took one armed Man, and brought him to *Cato*. This Prisoner informed him, that the main Body of the Army was encamp'd in the narrow Passages with the King, and that the Detachment that guarded the Heights was six hundred select *Ætolians*. *Cato*, despising those Troops,

as well on Account of the Smallness of their Number, as their Carelessness and Want of Order, caused his Trumpets immediately to sound, and marched Sword in hand against 'em at the Head of his Detachment, with loud Shouts and Huzzas. The *Ætolians* perceiving 'em pouring down upon 'em from the Mountains, fled to their main Guard, where they occasioned great Trouble and Disorder. At the same time *Manius* with the main Body of the Army attack'd and forced *Antiochus's* Intrenchments below. In this Attack *Antiochus* was wounded in the Mouth by a Stone, and his Teeth beaten out, the excessive Pain of which forced him to turn his Horse, and retreat.

After his Retreat, no Part of his Army durst stand the Shock of the *Romans*, so that a general Rout ensued, and tho' there seem'd no Hopes of escaping by Flight, by reason of the Straitness of the Road, which had deep Marshes on the one Side, and rocky Precipices on the Other, nevertheless they threw themselves in Crowds into those strait Passages, and destroyed one another, out of fear of being destroy'd by the *Romans*.

Cato, who was always free in his own Commendations, and thought Boasting a natural Attendant on great Actions, was not over-sparing on this Occasion; for he sets off this last Exploit in very high Terms, saying, *That They who saw him fall upon the Enemy, rout and pursue 'em, confess'd that Cato owed less to the People of Rome, than the People of Rome did to Cato; and that the Consul Manius Himself coming bot from the Fight, took him in his Arms, as he came panting and sweating from the Battle, and embracing him a long time, cried out in a Transport of Joy, that neither He himself, nor all the People of Rome, wou'd ever be able fully to reward his Services.*

After the Battle, the Consul sent *Cato* to carry the News of his own Exploits to *Rome*. With a favourable Wind he sail'd to *Brundisium*, and in one day got from thence to *Tarentum*; and having travelled four days more, on the fifth day in the Evening, reckoning from

from the time he landed, he arrived at *Rome*, and was the First that brought News of this great Victory. His Arrival filled the City with Joy and Sacrifices, and the People with an high Opinion of Themselves, from that very moment imagining that they were able to carry All before them both by Sea and Land, and to establish an universal Monarchy.

These are the greatest and most eminent of *Cato's* military Actions. As to his Conduct in Civil Affairs, he seems to have been of Opinion, that Nothing more deserved the Zeal and Application of an honest Man, than to accuse and prosecute Transgressors, for He himself prosecuted Several, and aided and assisted Others in such Prosecutions, nay and abetted Accusations against some of the most considerable Citizens. Thus he set up *Petilius* against the great *Scipio*; but not being able to carry his Point, of getting him condemn'd to Death, by reason of the Greatness of his Family, and his own personal Courage, he gave over the Prosecution; but joining with other Accusers, he fell upon his Brother *Lucius Scipio*, and cast him in a great Sum, which was forfeited to the Publick; which being unable to pay, he was in danger of being cast into Prison; nor did he get quit of this Affair without a great deal of Difficulty, and by making his Appeal to the Tribunes.

To this purpose 'tis related, that a certain young Man having obtained a Sentence of Condemnation against an Enemy of his Father who was lately dead, and crossing the Market-place the same Day that Judgment was given, *Cato* met him, and taking him in his Arms, said to him, *These are the Offerings we should make to the Manes of our deceas'd Ancestors; we ought to sacrifice to 'em not the Blood of Goats and Lambs, but the Tears and Condemnation of their Enemies.*

However, he did not escape these sort of Attacks himself, during his Administration of Affairs; for whenever his Enemies got the least Hold of him, he was immediately call'd to an Account, and prosecuted to the utmost, so that he was never out of Danger; for

'tis said there were nigh fifty Impeachments brought against him, the Last of which happened when he was fourscore and six Years old; upon which occasion, he spoke this remarkable Saying, so often cited from him, *It was very hard that he should be brought to justify to Men of one Generation the Actions he had performed in Another, before They were born.* But all his Contests did not end here, for four Years after, when he was fourscore and ten, he accused *Servilius Galba*; so that, like *Nestor*, he saw the fourth Generation, and, like Him, was always in Action. In short, after having constantly opposed the great *Scipio* in State-Affairs, he lived 'till the Time of young *Scipio*, his adopted Grandson, and Son of *Paulus Æmilius*, who defeated King *Perseus* and the *Macedonians*.

Ten Years after his Consulship, *Cato* stood for the Office of *Censor*, which was the highest Post of Honour, and, as I may say, the very Crown and Perfection of all those Dignities to which the Ambition of a *Roman* Citizen cou'd aspire. For besides all the great Powers it contained, it gave him a Right to enquire into the Life and Manners of every particular Person. For the *Romans* were of Opinion that no Man ought to be allowed the Liberty to marry, to get Children, to lead such or such kind of Life, to make Entertainments, or, in a word, to live any way according to his own Inclinations and Desires, without being liable to Inspection and Censure. Being therefore convinced that the Humours and Dispositions of Men are better discerned in the private Affairs of Life, than by such Actions as are of a publick and political Nature, they chose two Magistrates to be Guardians, Correctors, or Reformers of Manners, to hinder Men from quitting the Paths of Virtue, for those of Licentiousness and Pleasure, or by changing received Usages and Customs to introduce novel and new-fangled Ways of living. One of these was taken out of the *Patricians*, and the Other from among the common People, and they were called *Censors*. They had a right to take from a *Roman* Knight

Knight his Horse of State, which was as much as removing him from that Order, and to expel out of the Senate any Senator that lived disorderly. They regulated the Expence of Sacrifices, took an Estimate of every Citizen's Estate, and kept a particular Account of the several Families, Qualities, and Conditions of Men in the Commonwealth.

This Office had several other great Prerogatives annexed to it; so that when *Cato* stood for it, the chief and most considerable Persons in the Senate opposed him. The Patricians did it out of Envy, imagining it wou'd be a Stain to their Nobility to suffer Men of obscure Birth to rise to the highest Honour and Power; and Others, conscious of their own ill Lives and corrupt Manners, opposed him out of Fear, dreading his inexorable Severity when in Power, and his Inflexibility in every thing that related to the discharge of his Office.

Having therefore consulted among themselves, they agreed to set up seven Candidates in opposition to *Cato*. These soothed the People with fair Hopes and Promises, as tho' they wanted such Magistrates as would govern them gently, and serve their Pleasures.

Cato, on the contrary, without condescending to the least Flattery or Complaisance, but threatening from the Chair where he sat all wicked Men to their Face, and crying out aloud, that the City wanted great Reformation, press'd and conjured the People to choose, if they were wise, not the mildest and gentlest, but severest and roughest Physicians; nor did he spare to tell 'em that he Himself was one of that Character, and such an one as they then stood in need of, and that among the Patricians, *Valerius Flaccus* was Another; and that he was the only Person with whose Assistance he could hope to render any considerable Service to the State, by cutting off and burning to the very Root, like another *Hydra*, that Voluptuousness and Luxury that had infected all the Parts of the Commonwealth. He added further, that all the Others strove by unworthy Means to obtain that Office, because they dreaded such as would govern

with Justice, and faithfully discharge the Duties of their Place.

The *Roman* People, on this Occasion, shew'd themselves truly great, and worthy of great Leaders; for, far from dreading the Stiffness and Severity of this inflexible Man, they rejected all those smooth Flatterers, who seemed inclin'd to govern only according to their Will and Pleasure, and unanimously chose *Valerius Flaccus* and *Cato*, list'ning to the latter not as a Man that stood for the Office of Censor, but as one in the actual Exercise of it, who, by virtue of his Authority, gave forth his Orders already.

The first Thing *Cato* did, was to name his Friend and Colleague *L. Valerius Flaccus* Chief of the Senate, and to remove from thence several Persons, and particularly *Lucius Quintius*, who had been Consul seven Years before, and, which was more Honour to him than his Consulship, was Brother to *Titus Flaminius* who overthrew King *Philip*: Now the Occasion *Cato* took to expel him, was as follows.

Lucius Quintius kept a Youth in his House whom he had taken for his Beauty. This Youth was always near his Person, and all the Time he commanded the Army, had greater Power and Credit with him than any of his most intimate Friends and Acquaintance.

Now *Lucius* being appointed a Pro-consul, went to reside in his Province, and as he was one Day at an Entertainment where the Youth sat next to him as usual, He who could turn and wind him as he pleased, especially when he was in his Cups, began to flatter and caress him, and among other things said to him, *I love You with so much Passion, that tho' there was a Prize of Gladiators to be seen at Rome, which is a Sight I never saw in my Life, yet I would not stay to see it; and tho' I almost longed to see a Man kill'd, yet I made all possible haste to wait upon You.*

Lucius in return to such an obliging Compliment, replied, *Be not uneasy, I will soon cure that longing.* Ordering therefore forthwith one of Those condemned to

die

die to be brought to the Feast, together with the Headf-
man, and Ax, he ask'd his Paramour if now he desired
to see that Sight? the Boy answering that he did, *Lu-*
cius commanded the Executioner to cut off his Head.
This is mentioned by several Historians, and *Cicero* in his
Dialogue *de Senectute* brings in *Cato* expressing the same
thing. *Livy* saith He that was killed was a *Gaul*, that
had deserted, and that he was not dispatched by the
Stroke of the publick Executioner, but by *Lucius* him-
self, and that all This is written in a Speech of *Cato's*.

Lucius being thus expelled the Senate, his Brother
Titus Flaminius, unable to support such an Indignity, ap-
pealed to the People, requiring *Cato* to give his Reasons
for fixing such a Stain upon his Family. Which when
Cato was a doing, and setting forth the whole Transac-
tions of that Feast, *Lucius* with his Hands lifted up de-
nied the Fact; but *Cato* calling him to his Oath, he re-
fused to take it, from whence he was judged duly con-
victed, and punished as he deserved. But on a certain
Day, when there were Shews at the Theatre, *Lucius*
passing by the Place where Those who had been Consuls
used to sit, went on further, and sat down in an obscure
Seat at a distance; at which the People who saw him
took Pity on him, and making a great Noise, forced
him to come back and take his Place among Those of
Consular Dignity, by that means salving, and, as far as
in them lay, making him amends for the Misfortune
that had befallen him.

Cato likewise remov'd out of the Senate *Manilius*,
another Senator, who stood fair for the Consulate; for
that in open Day, and in the Presence of his Daughter,
he had been a little too sweet upon his own Wife. *Cato*
said on this Occasion, that His Wife never hugg'd him
but in loud Claps of Thunder, adding by way of Rally,
That he was never happy but when Jupiter thunder'd.

What *Cato* did to *Lucius*, Brother to the great *Scipio*,
who had been honoured with a Triumph for his Victory
over King *Philip*, fixed upon him the Reproach of
Envious and Ill-natured; for he took his Horse from
him

him at a Review of the *Roman* Knights ; and it appeared to every Body to have been done on purpose to insult the Memory of *Scipio Africanus*. But nothing was thought so insupportable, or gave so general a Disgust, as what he did towards reforming their Luxury. 'Twas impossible for him to carry his Point by attacking it directly, by reason the whole Body of the People was infected and corrupted ; wherefore he took a round-about way, and did, as it were, lay Siege to it ; for he caused all Apparel, Carriages, Woman's Finery, Furniture and Household Goods to be rated, and whatever exceeded fifteen hundred *Drachmas* to be valued at ten times its Worth, and imposed a Tax according to that Valuation. For every thousand Asses he caused Three to be paid ; to the end that They who found themselves heavily pressed by this Tax, and saw other plain and frugal Persons, of as good or better Estates, pay less to the Publick than themselves, might be induced to amend of their own Accord, and give over so ruinous a Luxury. By this means he not only made Those his Enemies, who chose rather to bear the Tax than lay aside their Luxury, but Those also who laid by their Luxury to avoid the Tax. For the Generality of Mankind think that a Prohibition to shew their Riches is the same thing as taking them away ; and that a Man's Wealth is better seen in Superfluities, than in the Necessaries of Life. And This, 'tis said, was what surprised *Aristo* the Philosopher ; for he could not comprehend why they should account Them that possessed superfluous things happy, rather than Those who abounded in what was necessary and useful. But *Scopas*, the *Thebessian*, when a Friend asked him for something that could be of little use to him, and gave That for a Reason why he should grant his Request, made him this Reply, *Alas, my Friend, 'tis only in these useless and superfluous things that I think myself rich and happy.* Thus 'tis evident that this ardent Desire of Riches proceeds not from any natural Passion within us, but comes from without, and is imperceptibly instilled into us by Example, and the Spirit of Imitation.

All

All the Complaints and Outcries against *Cato* had no Effect at all upon him, unless to make him more stiff and rigid. He caused all the Pipes by which particular Persons conveyed the Water from publick Fountains to their Houses and Gardens, to be cut off; and demolished all such Buildings as jetted out into the Streets and publick Places. He very much beat down the Price of publick Works, and on the contrary raised excessively the Duties and Imposts on all things that were sold, whereby he brought upon himself the Hatred of vast Numbers of People: So that *Titus Flaminius*, and Those of his Party, exclaimed against him, and caused to be vacated in open Senate the Contracts he had made for repairing the Temples and publick Buildings, as detrimental to the Publick; and incited the most factious and boldest of the Tribunes to accuse him to the People, and fine him two Talents. They likewise very much opposed him in his Design of building a Palace at the publick Charge below the Senate-House; which however he finished, and called it *The Porcian-Court*.

But notwithstanding all the Contradiction and Opposition he met with, the People seem to have liked his Censorship extremely well; for they erected a Statue to him in the Temple of *Health*, putting an Inscription at the Bottom, not of his Battles, Victories, or Triumph, but This that follows: *To the Honour of Cato the Censor, who by his good Discipline and Order reclaimed the Roman Commonwealth, when the publick Licentiousness had brought it into a declining and dangerous State.*

However, before this Statue was erected in Honour of him, he used to laugh at Those who valu'd and sought after such Honours, saying, *that they were not aware that they gloried in the Workmanship of Founders, Statuaries, and Painters; and that as for his part, he only gloried in leaving a beautiful Image of Himself engraven in the Breasts of his Fellow-Citizens.* And to Such as expressed their Surprise, that so many obscure Persons, of no Merit at all, should have Statues, and He should have none, he used to say, *I had rather it should*

should be asked, why no Statue has been erected to Cato, than why there bas? And to shew his Character fully in this respect, he would not allow that a good Citizen should admit of any Commendations, unless they turned to the Advantage of the Commonwealth, notwithstanding he was the most forward Man in the World to commend himself, insomuch that when some Citizens that had been guilty of Misdemeanors, were reprov'd for it, he used to say, *They are excusable, for they are not Catos.*

Concerning Such as attempted to imitate some of his Actions, but did it aukwardly, he used to say, *they were left-handed Catos.* He likewise boasted, *that in difficult and dangerous Times the Senate cast their Eyes upon him, just as Passengers in a Ship do upon the Pilot in a Storm;* and that *very often when he was not at the Senate, they would put off Affairs of the greatest Importance 'till He came.* Nor did He only say this of himself, but every Body else said the same thing, and gave this Testimony of him; for he had great Authority in Rome on account of his prudent and regular Life, his Eloquence, and his Age. He was a good Father, a good Husband, and an excellent Oeconomist, and did not think the care of his own Affairs, and Improvement of them, a mean or trifling Concern, that only deserved a slight and superficial Inspection: Wherefore I think it will be of use to relate here what is known of him on that Head.

He married a Wife more noble than rich; for though he well knew that both Riches and high Birth do equally incline People to Pride and Haughtiness, yet he thought Persons of noble Blood would be more ashamed of what was base and unworthy, and consequently more obedient to their Husbands in whatever was laudable and fitting. He often said, that they who beat their Wives, or Children, laid violent Hands on what was most sacred; and that he preferred the Commendation of being a good Husband infinitely before That of being a great Senator. And what he admired most in *Socrates* was, that he always lived easily and kindly with an ill-temper'd Wife and block-headed Children.

As soon as he had a Son, no Business, how urgent soever, unless it related to the Publick, could hinder him from being present when his Wife unswaddled and dressed the Child; for she suckled it herself, nay, she often gave her Breast to her Servants Children, to beget in them a brotherly Love and natural Affection towards her Son, as having sucked the same Milk. When his Son began to arrive at Years of Discretion, *Cato* took him and taught him Himself, tho' he had a Slave whose Name was *Cbilo*, a very honest Man, and good Grammarian, who had been intrusted with the Education of other Children: But he would not, as he said himself, have his Son reprimanded by a Slave, or pull'd, it may be, by the Ears for being tardy in his Lesson; nor could he suffer that his Son should owe so great an Obligation to a Slave, as his Education; wherefore he Himself undertook to be his Præceptor, and taught him his Grammar, Law, and Fencing; and he not only taught him how to throw a Dart, to fight in Armour, and to ride, but even to play at Fifty-Cuffs; to endure both Heat and Cold, and to swim across the most rapid River. He relates himself, that he wrote Histories for him with his own Hand, in large Characters, that so, without stirring out of his Father's House, he might be acquainted with the Laws and Exploits of his Ancestors. He was as careful to avoid all kind of filthy and obscene Discourse before his Son, as if he had been in the Presence of those sacred Virgins called *Vestals*: Nor would he ever bathe with him, tho' That indeed seems to be according to the common Custom of the *Romans*; for even Sons-in-law never bathed with their Fathers-in-law, being ashamed to appear naked before them. 'Tis true, indeed, in process of time the *Greeks* taught them to strip without Ceremony, and bathe naked one with another; and They in return soon after taught the *Greeks* to do the same thing before the Women, and bathe naked with Them.

Thus *Cato* formed his Son betimes, and fashioned him to virtuous Inclinations; for he found him well-inclined,
and

and apt to learn, from the Excellency of his Disposition: But his Body was too weak to undergo hard Labour, which obliged his Father to remit somewhat from the Strictness and Severity of his Discipline. This Weakness of Constitution did not, however, hinder him from being a valiant and brave Soldier, for he distinguished himself particularly in the Battle that *Paulus Emilius* fought against King *Perseus*, where, when his Sword was struck from him by a Blow, or rather slipt out of his Hand by the Moistness thereof, he was so enraged, that turning to some of his Companions to beg their Assistance in recovering it, he forthwith rush'd with them into the midst of the Enemy. There he laid about him so manfully, and behaved so well, that he cleared the Place where his Sword lay, and at length found it under Heaps of Arms and dead Bodies of Friends, as well as Enemies, piled upon one another. *Paulus Emilius* the General highly applauded this Action of the young Man; and there is a Letter still shewn, written by *Cato* to his Son, in which he greatly commends his Concern at losing his Sword, and his Bravery in recovering it. This young Man afterwards married *Tertia*, Daughter to this *Paulus Emilius*, and Sister to young *Scipio*. The Honour of being allied to which noble Family was much owing to his Own as his Father's Worth.

Such was *Cato's* Care in the Education of his Son, which fully answered his Expectations. He had several Slaves which he purchased from among the Captives taken in War, always choosing the youngest, and such as were most capable of receiving Instruction, like Whelps, or Colts, that may be train'd up and taught. None of these Slaves ever went into any other Man's House, except they were sent by *Cato*, or his Wife; and if any one of them was asked what *Cato* was doing, he always answered, *Nothing that he knew of*; for *Cato* liked to have his Servants always either employed in the House, or asleep; and he liked those best that often took a Nap, reckoning them more tractable and quiet, as well as more fit to perform their Business. And as he

he knew that the hankering after Women generally makes Servants idle and knavish, he allowed his Slaves, at certain times to have free Conversation with his female Slaves, upon paying a certain Price; but under a strict Prohibition to meddle with no other Women.

At first, while he was poor, and serv'd in the Army only as a common Soldier, he never was angry, however he was used by his Servants; for he thought nothing more ridiculous and shameful than to scold and quarrel with them on the account of his Belly: But afterwards, when his Circumstances were grown better, and he gave frequent Entertainments to his Friends and the principal Officers of the Army, he never failed, after Dinner, to correct with leathern Thongs such of them as had not given due Attendance, or had suffered any thing to be spoiled. He always contrived Means to make Quarrels among his Servants, and to keep them at Variance, ever suspecting and fearing a good Understanding among them. When any of them had committed a Crime that deserved Death, he had them try'd, and if convicted, executed them in the presence of their Fellow-Servants, that they might profit by the example. But as his Thirst after Riches increased, he gave over Agriculture, which he found yield more amusement than Profit; and turning his Thoughts to things more sure and certain, he purchased Fish-ponds, Lands in which there were hot Baths, Grounds full of Fuller's Earth, Pastures and Wood-lands, whereby a great Revenue flowed into him, *such an one*, he used to say, as Jupiter himself could not hurt.

He was guilty of the most blamable kind of Usury, called *Ship-usury*; the manner of which was thus; He obliged Those to whom he lent Money to form themselves into a Company, for Example, of fifty Merchants, and to fit out fifty Ships, in which he had one Share, which *Quintion*, whom he had made a Freeman, sailing with them, took care of, as his Factor. All these Merchants were bound for the Money lent to them,

every one for his particular Sum ; besides which he had his Share in the joint-stock, by which means he did not run the Risk of all his Money, but only of a small Part, and that with a Prospect of vast Advantage.

He lent Money likewise to such of his Slaves as had a mind to traffick, with which they bought young ones, who being instructed and brought up at *Cato's* Expence, were sold at the Year's End by Auction, several of which *Cato* took himself at the Price of the highest Bidder, which he deducted out of the Money he had lent. To incline his Son to this sort of good Management he used to say, *That to diminish his paternal Estate was not like a wise Man, but a foolish Widow.* But what most of all shew'd his avaricious Temper, was, that he durst advance, *that He was a wonderful Man, nay Godlike, and worthy of immortal Glory, who made it appear by his Accounts, at his Death, that he had acquir'd more Wealth than he had received from his Ancestors.*

When *Cato* was very far advanced in Years there arrived at *Rome* two Ambassadors from *Athens*, *Carneades* the *Academick*, and *Diogenes* the *Stoick*. They were sent by the *Athenians* with a Request to the Senate, to remit a Fine of fifty Talents that had been imposed on them, for Contumacy, by the *Sicyonians* at the Prosecution of the *Oropians*. Upon the Arrival of these Philosophers all the Youth that were the greatest Lovers of Letters, and most studious, went to wait on them, and heard them with inexpressible Pleasure and Admiration, But above all they were charmed with the Gracefulness of *Carneades's* Oratory, the Force of whose Eloquence was inexpressibly great, nor was his Fame and Reputation less ; for having happily had the greatest and best-natured Persons in *Rome* for his Auditors, he made at first so great a Noise, that, like a mighty Wind, the whole City was filled with the Sound of it. It was every where said that a surprising *Greek* was arrived, who surpassed Mankind in Knowledge ; who calming and softening the most outrageous Passions by his Eloquence, inspired the *Roman* Youth with such a love of Wisdom

and

and Learning, that renouncing all other Business and Diversions, they ran, as it were, enthusiastically mad after Philosophy.

All the *Romans* were highly pleased on this account, nor could they without the utmost Delight behold their Youth thus fondly receive the *Grecian* Literature, and frequent the Company of these wonderful Men: But *Cato*, from the beginning, as soon as ever he perceived this love of the *Grecian* Learning prevailed in the City, was highly displeased, fearing lest all the Youth should turn their Emulation and Ambition that way, and prefer the Glory of Speaking to that of Doing well, and distinguishing themselves in Arms: But when he found that the Reputation of these Philosophers was universally spread abroad, and that their first Discourses were in every Body's Hands, having been turned into *Latin* by *Caius Acilius*, one of the chief Persons in the Senate, who was both charm'd with them Himself, and had been likewise desired to translate them, he was no longer able to contain himself, but resolv'd to dismiss these Philosophers, under some specious Pretence for Decency's sake, and oblige them to leave the City with all Speed.

When he was therefore come to the Senate, he complained to the Magistrates for detaining so long, without any Dispatch, such Ambassadors as those, who could easily persuade the People to whatever they pleased. *You ought*, said he, *with all Speed to consider of their Affair, and determine what is just and right, that so they may return to their Schools, and instruct the Grecian Children as much as they please, and that the Roman Youth may listen only to their own Laws and Magistrates, as they did before their Arrival.* This he said, not out of any particular Enmity to *Carneades*, as Some have thought, but because he was an Enemy to Philosophy, and took a Pride in despising the *Grecian* Muses, and all foreign Erudition. For he used to call *Socrates* himself a great *Prater*, and a violent seditious Fellow, that had endeavoured, as much as lay in his Power, to tyrannize over

his Country, by abrogating their ancient Customs, and hurrying his Fellow-Citizens into novel Opinions contrary to the Laws. And to make a Jest of the long time Socrates took in teaching his Disciples, he used to say, that his Scholars grew old in learning their Art, in order to use it, and plead Causes in the next World. And to dissuade his Son from applying himself to any of those Arts, he pronounced in a louder Tone than his Age allowed, like a Man inspired, and filled with a prophetick Spirit, that the Romans would certainly be destroyed when once they became infected with Greek. But time has sufficiently shewn the Vanity of this wayward Prediction; for Rome never attained to a higher pitch of Glory and Power than when the Grecian Literature flourished there, and all kind of Learning was esteemed.

Nor was Cato a sworn Enemy to the Grecian Philosophers only, but to the Physicians also; for having heard of Hippocrates's Answer to the King of Persia, who when he was sent for to cure him of a grievous Distemper, and had the offer of many Talents for his Pains, said, *I will never make use of my Skill in favour of Barbarians who are Enemies to the Greeks*; He maintained that this was become a common Oath to be taken by all Physicians, and enjoin'd his Son never to trust himself in their Hands. He added, that he himself had written a little Treatise wherein were several Prescriptions, which he had used with good Success when any of his Family were sick; that he never enjoined Fasting to any one, which Physicians often prescribe, but always allowed himself and all his Domesticks Herbs, with the Flesh of a Duck, Pigeon, or Levret; such kind of Diet being the best, lightest, and easiest of Digestion for weak and sick Persons, only that it made them dream in the Night. In short, he assured them, that by the Assistance of these Remedies only, together with his Regimen, he preserved himself, and All that belonged to him, in perfect Health. However this his presumptuous Bragging may admit of some contradiction; for he left both his Wife and Son, tho' he himself, being of a
strong

strong robust Constitution, held out to a great Age ; so that he would often, even at that time of Life, make use of Women, nay when he was past a Lover's Age he married a young Woman, and that upon this Pretextence.

After the Death of his Wife he married his Son to *Paulus Emilius's* Daughter, who was Sister to young *Scipio*, and himself continued a Widower, but made use of a young Slave, who came privately to him ; but this Intrigue could not remain long a Secret in a small House, with a Daughter-in-law in it : Wherefore, one Day, as the favourite Slave was passing with something of an haughty Air to *Cato's* Bed-chamber, his Son, without saying a Word to her, gave her an angry Look, and then turned from her as with Indignation. The old Man being informed of this Circumstance, and finding that this sort of Commerce was by no means agreeable either to his Son, or his Wife, without taking the least notice of what had pass'd, or expostulating the Matter with them, went early the next Morning, according to Custom, with his usual Company to the *Forum*, and calling aloud to one *Salonius*, who had been his Secretary, and then attended him, asked him if his Daughter was married ; and when he reply'd, *that she was not yet married, and that she never should be without his Consent ; Cato* told him, *Why then I have found out a very fit Match for her, provided she can bear with the Inequality of Age, for he has no other Objection :* When *Salonius* said, *that he left the Disposal of her entirely to Him, for that she was his Client, under his immediate Protection, and had nothing to depend upon but from His Bounty ; Cato*, without any farther Ceremony, answered, *I will be thy Son-in-law.* The man was at first surpris'd at the Proposition, as may easily be imagined, and knew not how to take it ; for on the one hand he considered *Cato* as a Man past the Age of marrying, and on the Other he could not but look on his Daughter as a Match infinitely beneath a Person of Consular Dignity, and One who had triumphed. However, when he found

Cato was in good earnest, he embraced the Offer with great Joy and Thankfulness; and the Marriage Contract was signed as soon as they came to the *Forum*.

Whilst they were busy in preparing every thing for the solemnizing of the Nuptials, *Cato's* Son, taking some of his Friends and Relations with him, went to his Father, and ask'd him, if any Offence, by Him committed, was the occasion of giving him a Mother-in-law? *Cato* immediately took him up, and told him roundly, *No, my good Son, I find nothing to complain of in thy Behaviour, nor art thou to wonder if I am desirous of having more such Sons, and willing to leave more such Citizens to my Country. But Pissistratus, Tyrant of Athens, is said to have return'd such an Answer long before Cato, when, after he had had several Children, who were Men grown, by the first Venter, he took a second Wife, who was Timonassa of Argos, by whom he is said likewise to have had two Sons, Jophon and The-salus.*

Cato had a Son by this second Wife, whom he call'd *Salonius* from his Mother's Father. As for his eldest Son *Cato*, He died in his *Prætorship*. His Father makes frequent mention of him in his Works, as of a Person of extraordinary Merit. He bore this Loss with the Temper of a Philosopher, without suffering it to interrupt him one Moment in his Application to the Affairs of State. He did not, like *Lucius Lucullus*, and *Mæ-tellus Pius*, grow remiss in his Care of the Publick as he grew in Years, but look'd upon That as a Duty that was to continue upon him as long as he lived; nor did he follow the Example of *Scipio Africanus*, who, because the Envy and Ill-will of his Fellow-Citizens deny'd him the Honours due to his extraordinary Services, refus'd to serve his Country any longer, and spent the Remainder of his Life in Retirement and Inaction. But as one told *Dionysius*, that the most honourable Tomb he could have would be to die doing his Duty as a Governor, so *Cato* thought Old Age to be the best employ'd in serving the Publick; only at some leisure

Hours

Hours he would divert himself with Husbandry, and Writing; to which we owe the many Works, some of them Histories, which he has left behind him.

In his younger Days he apply'd himself to Agriculture for the Profit sake; for he us'd to say, he had but two Ways of increasing his Income, which were *Husbandry* and *Parfimony*; but as he grew old he regarded it only as an innocent Amusement, and diverting Occupation. He wrote a Book concerning Country Affairs, in which he treats particularly of making Cakes, and preserving Fruit all the Year round; being very desirous to be thought curious, and knowing in every thing tho' even inconsiderable. He kept a better Table in the Country than at *Rome*, for he always invited some of his Friends in the Neighbourhood to sup with him, and wou'd be diverting Company, not only to Such as were of the same Age with himself, but to the younger Sort; for he had a thorough Knowledge of the World, and had either seen himself, or receiv'd from Others, many curious Things that were well worth the hearing. He thought the Table the properest Place for the forming of Friendships, and at His the Conversation generally turn'd upon the Commendation of brave and worthy Men, without any Aspersions cast upon Those who were otherwise, for he would not allow in his Company to have one Word, either good or bad, said of such kind of Men.

The last Service he did the Publick, was the Demolishing of *Carthage*. *Scipio* indeed put the finishing Stroke to that Work, but it was undertaken by the Counsel and Advice of *Cato*, who may be said to have been the Author of the Third and last *Punick* War, and it was upon this Occasion. *Masiniſſa*, King of *Numidia*, and the *Carthaginians* being at War with each other, *Cato* was sent into *Africa* to inquire into the Cause of the Quarrel. *Masiniſſa* was, and had been of old, a Friend and Ally to the *Romans*, and the *Carthaginians* had likewise been in Alliance with them ever since the great Overthrow they had receiv'd from the elder *Scipio*, who stript them

them of a great part of their Dominions, and impos'd a heavy Tribute upon them. When *Cato* arriv'd at *Carthage*, he found the City not in that low Condition the *Romans* thought her, drain'd of her Men and Money, humble and dispirited; but on the contrary, he found her flourishing in a hopeful Youth, abounding in Wealth, furnished with prodigious warlike Stores of all sorts, and Spirited up with such a Confidence in her own Strength and Abilities, as to be perswaded that there was nothing so great and extraordinary to which her Hopes and Ambition might not aspire. He soon perceived that it would be loss of Time to the *Romans* to endeavour to adjust the Matters in dispute between the *Carthaginians* and *Numidians*; but that if they did not without Delay make themselves Masters of that City, which was their ancient Enemy, and retained strong Resentments of the Usage she had received from them, and which had in a short Space of Time not only recovered herself after all her Losses and Sufferings, but was prodigiously increased in Wealth and Power, they would unavoidably be plunged again into their former Dangers and Difficulties. With these Thoughts and Reflexions he returned in all haste to *Rome*, where he told the Senate, *that all the Misfortunes that had befallen the Carthaginians had not so much drained them of their Forces, as cured them of their Folly; that in all their former Wars with them the Romans had not weakened them, but rendred them more warlike, and experigenced. That their Conflicts with the Numidians were no other than Essays, or Exercises, by which they were trained up, and inured, that they might be the better able one Day to cope with the Romans; that the late Peace was so only in Name, with respect to Them; it was no better than a Suspension of Arms, and a sort of breathing-time, which serv'd to refresh and bearten them up against another Opportunity.* It is said that at the Conclusion of his Speech he purposely dropp'd in the Senate-house some Figs he had brought out of *Africa*, and when he found they were admired by the Senators for their Beauty and Largeness, he told them, *that the Coun-*

try where that fine Fruit grew was but three Days Sail from Rome. It is farther said of him, that he never gave his Opinion in the Senate upon any other Point whatever, but the constant Burden in the Conclusion was, *My Opinion is, that Carthage should be demolish'd*. Scipio, firnam'd *Nasica*, maintained the contrary, and ended all his Speeches with, *My Opinion is, that Carthage should be left standing*. It is very likely that this great Man perceiving the People were arrived to that pitch of Insolence as inclined them to run into any sort of Excess; and that being puffed up with Success, and ready to burst with Pride, they were no longer to be restrained by any Reverence to the Senate, but were grown so absolute as to be able to draw the City which way they pleas'd, he thought it prudent to keep *Carthage* as a Terror over them, thereby to moderate and restrain their Presumption. For he knew the *Carthaginians* were too weak to subdue the *Romans*, and the *Romans* not in a Condition to despise the *Carthaginians*. On the other hand, it seem'd a dangerous thing to *Cato*, that a City which had been always great, and was now grown sober and wise, from her former Calamities, should still lye, as it were in wait for the *Romans*, who were now become wanton and giddy by reason of their great Power; so that he thought it the wisest Course to have all outward Dangers removed, at a time when through their Depravity and Corruption they had so Many hanging over their Heads at home.

Thus *Cato*, they say, stirred up the Third and Last War against the *Carthaginians*; but no sooner was it begun but He died, prophesying of the Person that should put an End to it. He was then but a young Man, but having a Command in the Army, he had in the Beginning of this War given great Proofs of his Courage and Conduct. When the News of his first Exploits was brought to Rome *Cato* cry'd out,

*He only breathes courageously,
Whilst Others like swift Shadows fly.*

This

This Prophecy *Scipio* soon confirmed by his Actions.

Cato left one Son by his second Wife, who, as we observ'd before, was called *Salonius*, and a Grandson by his Son of the first Venter, who dy'd before him. *Cato Salonius* dy'd in his Prætorship, and left behind him a Son called *Marcus*, who was afterwards Consul, and Grandfather of that *Cato* the Philosopher, who for Virtue and Renown was One of the most eminent Men of his Time.



The Comparison of *Aristides* with *Cato*.

HAVING mentioned the most memorable Actions of these great Men, if the whole Life of One be compared with that of the Other, there will appear a most remarkable conformity between them, being involved under so many like Circumstances, by which They resemble each other: . But if we examine the several Parts of their Lives, as we consider a piece of Poetry, or some Picture, we shall then find This common to them Both, that They advanced Themselves to great Honour and Dignity in the Commonwealth, by no other Means than their own Virtue and Industry. It is true, when *Aristides* appeared, *Athens* was not in its Grandeur and Plenty; the chief Magistrates and Officers of his time being Men only of moderate and equal Fortunes among themselves: The Estimate of the greatest Estates then was five hundred *Medimni*; the Second of Knights, three hundred; the Third and Last, called *Zeugitæ*, two hundred. But *Cato*, out of a petty Village from a Country Life, lanch'd into the Commonwealth, as it were into a vast Ocean, at a time when there were no such Governors as the *Curii*, *Fabrii*, and *Hosilii*; poor labouring Men were

were not then advanced from the Plough and Spade to be Governors and Magistrates ; but greatness of Families, Riches, profuse Gifts, large Distributions among the People, and courting their Favour, were the only things regarded by the *Romans*, elated with the Strength of their Commonwealth ; and who loved to humble Those who stood Candidates for any Preferment. It was a very different Case to have such an one as *Themistocles* for an Adversary, a Person of mean Extraction and small Fortune, (for he was not worth, as 'tis said, above Three, or Five Talents at the most, when he first applied himself to publick Affairs) and to contest with *Scipio Africanus*, *Servilius Galba* and *Quintius Flaminius*, without any other Assistance, or Support, but a Tongue accustomed to a Freedom of Speech, and to assert That which was Right. Besides, *Aristides* at *Marathon*, and again at *Plataea*, was in degree no better than a tenth Commander ; whereas *Cato* was chosen one of the two Consuls when he had many Competitors, and was preferred before seven most Noble and Eminent Pretenders to be one of the two Censors. Besides, *Aristides* was never Principal in any Action, for *Miltiades* carried the Day at *Marathon* ; at *Salamis*, *Themistocles* ; and at *Plataea*, *Herodotus* tells us, *Pausanias* got the Glory of that important Victory ; nay farther, *Sophanes*, *Aminias*, *Callicmachus*, and *Cynæggyrus*, behaved themselves so well in all those Engagements, that they contended with *Aristides* even for the second place.

Now *Cato* was esteemed as Chief for Courage and Conduct, not only in the *Spanish War* when he was Consul ; but even whilst he was only Colonel at *Thermopylae*, and under another's Command, he gained the Glory of the Victory ; for He as it were open'd a large Gate for the *Romans* to rush in upon *Antiochus*, and brought the War on the back of One who minded only what was before him : For that Victory, which was beyond dispute all *Cato's* own work, cleared *Greece* of the *Asiaticks*, and by that means made way thither afterwards for *Scipio*. Both of them indeed were always
victorious

victorious in War; but at home *Aristides* was defeated, being banished and oppressed by the Faction of *Themistocles*; whilst *Cato*, notwithstanding he had almost all the Chief and most Powerful of *Rome* his Adversaries, who did not leave off contending with him even in his old Age, yet like a skilful Wrestler he still kept his footing; engaged also in many publick Suits, sometimes Plaintiff, sometimes Defendant, he cast the most, and came off clear, without any thing to defend him but his Eloquence, that Bulwark and powerful Instrument of Life, to which more truly, than to Chance or Fortune, the sustaining his Dignity to the last ought to be ascribed. For *Antipater* writing of *Aristotle* the Philosopher, after his Death, among the other great Qualities that Philosopher was possessed of, takes particular notice of This, that he was endowed with a Faculty of persuading People which way he pleased. Political Virtue, or the Art of governing Cities and Kingdoms, is undoubtedly the greatest Perfection that the Nature of Man can acquire; and 'tis generally agreed, that Oeconomy, or the Art of governing a Family, is no small part of this Virtue; for a City, which is a Collection of private Families, cannot be in a strong and healthful Condition, unless the Families of which it is composed be strong and healthful too. And *Lycurgus*, when he prohibited the use of Gold and Silver in *Sparta*, and gave the Citizens Money made of Iron, that had been spoiled by the Fire, did not design to discharge them from minding their Household Affairs, but only to prevent Luxury (which is as it were a Tumour and Inflammation caused by Riches) that every one might have the greater Plenty of the Necessaries of Life; by this Establishment of his it appears, that he saw farther than any other Legislator, and that he was sensible any Society had more to fear from the poor and necessitous part of it, than from Those that were rich and haughty; and therefore *Cato* was no less solicitous in the Management of Domestick Concerns, than in the Government of publick Affairs; for he increased his Estate, and became

an Example to Others in Oeconomy and Husbandry; concerning which he collected in his Writings many useful things; whereas *Aristides* by his Poverty made Justice odious, as if it were the Pest and Impoverisher of a Family, and beneficial to All, but Those that were endowed with it; yet *Hesiod* said many things to exhort us both to publick Justice, and a care of our own private Concerns, and inveighs against Idleness as the Origin of Injustice; and *Homer* excellently sung,

Ἔργον δέ μοι ἐ φίλον ἦεν
 'Οὐδ' οἰκωρελίν, ἥτε τρέφει ἀγλαὰ τέκνα,
 Ἀλλὰ μοι αἰεὶ νῆες ὑπὸ νηγεῖ μοι φίλαι ἦσαν,
 Καὶ πτόλεμοι, καὶ ἀκόντες ἐὺξεοι, καὶ οἶσοι.

I lov'd not Rural Work,
 Nor House Affairs, or breeding up fine Boys.
 But well-rig'd Ships were always my delight
 And Wars, keen Darts and Arrows —

As if Those were alike that carelessly imbezled their own Estates, and Those who liv'd by Rapine; for it is not as the Physicians say of Oil, that outwardly apply'd it is very wholsom, but taken inwardly very destructive; as if a just Man must be careful for Others and careless for himself and Family: But in this *Aristides*'s Politicks seem'd to be defective; for (as Most say) he took no care to leave his Daughters a Portion, or Himself enough to defray his Funeral Charges: Whereas *Cato*'s Family produced Senators and Generals to the fourth Generation; for his Grand-children and their Children came to the highest Preferments: But *Aristides*, who was the principal Man of *Greece*, through extreme Poverty reduced some of *his* to get their living by shewing Jugglers-tricks; Others, to hold out their Hands for publick Alms; leaving none of his Descendents means to perform any noble Action, or worthy his Dignity. But why must this needs follow? for Poverty is dishonourable not in itself, but when it is a sign of Laziness, Intemperance,

Luxury and Carelessness; yet in a Person that is Temperate, Industrious, Just and Valiant, employ'd in publick Affairs, furnish'd with all manner of Virtues, it shews a great and lofty Mind; for He is unfit for great matters, who concerns himself with petty ones; nor can He relieve the many Needy, who himself needs many Things: But the great Qualification for serving the Publick is not Wealth, but an honest Self-sufficiency, which requiring no Superfluity at home, leaves the Man at full liberty to serve the Commonwealth. God is intirely exempt from all want, and in the proportion that the virtuous Man lessens his Wants, he approaches nearer to the Perfection of the divine Being. For as a Body well built for health, requires nothing exquisite, either in Cloaths or Food; so a Man and a sound House, keep themselves up with a small matter. Now Riches ought to be proportioned to the use we have of them; for He that scrapes together a great deal, making use of but little, is not the better for his Riches; for if he does not want what they would procure, he has no occasion for them; if he has Occasion for them, and yet out of Sordidness is restrained from enjoying them, he is miserable. I would fain know of *Cato* Himself, if we therefore seek Riches, because we desire to enjoy them, why does he value himself upon having Much, when a little would answer his Occasions? But if it be noble, as it is, to feed on coarse Bread, and to drink the same Wine with our Hinds, and not to covet Purple and *Plaster'd Houses*, neither *Aristides*, nor *Epaminondas*, nor *Manius Curius*, nor *Caius Fabricius* were wanting in their Duty, altho' they would not take pains to get what they did not want; and therefore it must have been weakness in such a Man as *Cato*, who esteem'd Turnips a most delicate Food, and who boil'd them himself while his Wife bak'd the Bread, to brag so often as he does of his Money, and to write how a Man may soonest grow rich; for certainly it is a better Proof of a great Mind to be contented with a little, because this at once cuts off the desire and care of Superfluities: Therefore they say

Aristides

Aristides thus delivered himself in *Callias's* Case ; It is for them to blush at Poverty, who are poor against their Wills, they, who like him are willingly so, may glory in it ; for it is ridiculous to think *Aristides's* Neediness imputable to his Sloth, who might handsomly enough by the spoil of one *Barbarian*, or seizing one Tent, have become wealthy : But enough of this.

As to the difference between them in their warlike Expeditions, *Cato's* added no great matter to the *Roman* Empire, which already was so great, as in a manner it could receive no addition ; but Those of *Aristides* are the noblest, most splendid and chief Actions in which the *Greeks* were concerned, viz. the Battles at *Marathon*, *Salamis*, and *Platæa*. Nor indeed is the defeat of *Antiochus*, nor the Walls of the *Spanish* Towns demolished at the cost of innumerable Legions both by Land and Sea, to be compared with so many thousands of *Barbarians* destroyed both by Sea and Land in the War with *Xerxes* ; in all which noble Exploits *Aristides* yielded to None : But he left the Glory, the Laurels, the Wealth and Money to Those who needed and thirsted more greedily after them : For He was above all those things. I don't blame *Cato* for perpetually boasting and preferring himself before all Others, though in one of his Orations he says, *It's equally absurd to praise and dispraise ones self*, but in my Opinion He is more perfectly virtuous who doth not so much as desire the Praises of others, than He who is always extolling Himself ; for Modesty does not a little contribute to that mildness and sweetness of Temper which makes a Governor agreeable, whereas Pride makes Persons ill-natured and difficult of Access, and is a great Fomentor of Envy, from which *Aristides* was exempt, but *Cato* very subject to it. For *Aristides* by assisting his Enemy *Themistocles* in matters of highest Importance, and acting as it were the part of an Officer under him, raised the Reputation of *Athens* ; whereas *Cato*, by opposing *Scipio*, almost broke and defeated his Expedition against the *Carthaginians*, in which he overthrew *Hannibal*, who 'till then was even invincible ;

cible ; and at last, by raising always some Suspicions and Calumnies or other of him, he chas'd him from the City, and basely condemn'd his Brother for robbing the State. Finally, that Temperance which *Cato* always highly cry'd up, *Aristides* preserv'd truly pure and untainted : But *Cato's* Marriage, unbecoming his Dignity and Age, drew upon him no slight or improbable Suspicion of his wanting this Virtue ; for it was not at all decent for him at that Age to bring home to his Son and his Wife, a young Woman, the Daughter of an Apparitor, and one that work'd publickly for Wages : But whether he did this out of Lust or Anger to be revenged of his Son for his Harlot's sake, both the Fact and the Pretence were unhandsom ; for the Reason he pretended to his Son was false ; for if he desired to get more worthy Children, he ought to have married some Person of Distinction earlier in Life : and not to have delay'd it 'till his criminal Conversation with a Woman of ill Fame came to be discovered ; and when it was discover'd, he ought to have married into a Family, whose Affinity would have been of credit to him, and not have chosen Him for his Father-in-law, where the Alliance could not be more honourable to the One than it was dishonourable to the other.





THE
L I F E
O F
P H I L O P O E M E N.



Assander was a Man of great Quality and Power in the City of *Mantineæ*, but by the revolution of Fortune happened to be driven from thence. There being an intimate friendship betwixt him and *Crausis*, the Father of *Philopoemen*, who was a Person of extraordinary worth, he settled at *Megalopolis*, where, while his Friend lived, he had all he could desire. When *Crausis* died, he repay'd the Father's hospitable Kindness in the care of the Orphan-Son; by which means *Philopoemen* was educated by him, as *Homer* says *Achilles* was by *Phœnix*, and from his Infancy molded to great and virtuous Inclinations. But *Ecdemus* and *Demophanes* had the principal care of him, after he was past the years of Childhood: They were both *Megalopolitans*, who had been Scholars in the Academick Philosophy, and Friends to *Arcefilaus*, and above all Men of their time applied

the Precepts of Philosophy to Action and State-Affairs. They had freed their Country from Slavery, by the death of *Aristodemus*, whom they caus'd to be killed; they had assisted *Aratus* in driving out the Tyrant *Nicoles* from *Sycione*; and at the request of the *Cyreneans*, where the Publick was in much confusion, went thither by Sea, instituted for them excellent Laws, and settled their Commonwealth in exact Discipline. Of all their Actions, they most valued the Education of *Philopæmon*, thinking they had done a general Good to *Greece*, by breeding up so worthy a Man. And indeed all *Greece* (which look'd upon Him as a kind of latter Brood, brought forth, after so many famous Captains, in her decrepid Age) loved him wonderfully; and as his Glory grew, increas'd his Power. A certain *Roman*, to praise him, calls him *the last of the Grecians*; as if after Him *Greece* had produced no great Man, nor any who deserv'd the Name of *Grecian*.

His Person was not, as Some fancy, deform'd, for his Statue is yet to be seen at *Delpbi*. As for the mistake of the Hostess of *Megara*, They say it was occasioned by the meanness of his Habit, the homeliness of his Garb, and the easy plainness of his Conversation. This Hostess having word brought her that the General of the *Achæans* was coming to her House in the absence of her Husband, was all in a hurry about providing of his Supper. *Philopæmen*, in a thread-bare unfashionable Cloke, arriving in this point of time, she took him for one of his own Train, and pray'd him to lend her his Hand in her Household work; he presently threw off his Cloke, and fell to cleaving of Logs: The Husband returning, and catching him at it, *Why, what, says he, may this mean, my Lord Philopæmen! I am,* reply'd he in his *Dorick* Dialect, *paying the Fine of my Deformity and ungraceful Presence.* *Flaminius* seeming to rally the Fashion of his Body, told him one Day, he had well-shap'd Hands and Feet, but no Belly: And he was indeed slender in the Waste. But this rally was meant rather on the State of his Affairs than on his Shape;
for

for he had good Horse and Foot, but often wanted Money to pay them. And These are the pleasant Stories they had in the Schools concerning *Philopæmen*.

As he was insatiably covetous of Honour, his Humour was somewhat rough and cholerick, and not altogether free from Censure. He strove to be like *Epaminondas*, and came not much behind him in Valour, good Conduct, and uncorruptible Integrity: But his boiling contentious Humour not suffering him in civil Contests to keep within the Bounds of Gravity, Sweetness and obliging Condescendence, he was thought more proper for the Camp than for the City; for he was strongly inclin'd to War, even from his Childhood, he both study'd and practis'd things belonging to it, taking great delight in managing of Horses, and handling of Weapons. Because he was naturally dispos'd for Wrestling, his Friends and Tutors perswaded him to bestow some Pains that way. But he wou'd first be satisfied, whether it would not hinder him from becoming a Soldier. They told him, as it was, that the one was directly opposite to the other, their Ways of Living and Exercises quite different; the Wrestler sleeping much and feeding plentifully, punctually regular in his set times of Exercise and Rest, and apt to spoil all by every little Excess, or breach of his usual Method; whereas the Soldier, by all variety of irregular changes, was to bring himself to endure hunger and watching without difficulty. *Philopæmen* hearing This, not only laid by all thoughts of Wrestling, and condemn'd it then, but when he came to be General, discouraged it by all Marks of Reproach and Infamy he could imagine, as a thing which made Men, otherwise excellently fit for War, to be utterly usefess, and unable to fight on necessary occasions.

When he left off his Masters and Governors, and began to bear Arms in the Incursions which his Citizens us'd to make upon the *Lacedæmonians* for Pillage or sudden Surprises, he would always march out the First, and return the Last. When there was nothing to do, he sought to harden his Body, and make it strong and active,

active, by hunting, or labouring in his Ground ; for he had a good Estate about twenty Furlongs from the Town, and thither he would go every Day after Dinner and Supper ; and when Night came, throw himself upon the first Mattress in his way, and there sleep as one of the Labourers. At break of day he would rise with the rest and work either in the Vineyard or at the Plough ; from thence return again to the Town, and employ his time with his Friends, or the Magistrates in publick Business. What he got in the Wars he laid out on Horses, Arms, or redeeming Captives ; but endeavour'd to improve his own Estate, the justest way, by Husbandry : and this not slightly, by way of Diversion, but as one that thought it his Duty so to manage his own Fortune, as to be out of the temptation of wronging Others.

He spent much time on Eloquence and Philosophy, but selected his Authors, and cared only for those by whom he might profit in Virtue. Among all *Homer's* great Sentiments he chiefly minded Those that served to raise the Courage, and spur Men on to galant Actions. But he studied principally the Commentaries of *Evangelus* for the marshalling of Armies. He took delight also in the Histories of *Alexander* at leisure hours, still considering how to bring what he read into Practice : For, never heeding what such Books use for speculation sake to draw out in Figures, he lov'd to see, and discourse of what the Nature of Places and their Situations would bear. So that he would be exercising his thoughts, and considering, as he travelled, and arguing with those about him, of the difficulties of steep or broken Ground ; what might happen at Rivers, Ditches, or Straits ; in Marching close or open ; in this or that particular form of Battle. The truth is, he was too much addicted to War, which he passionately loved, as the means to exercise all sorts of Virtue, and utterly contemned Those who were not Soldiers, as Drones, and useless in the Commonwealth.

When he was thirty Years of Age, *Cleomenes*, King of the *Lacedæmonians*, surpris'd *Megalopolis* by Night, forced

forced the Guards, broke in, and seiz'd the Market-place. *Philopæmen* ran in at the Noise, and fought with extreme Courage and Danger, but could not beat the Enemy out again. Yet he saved the Citizens, who got away while he made head against Those who pursued them, and amused *Cleomenes*, till having lost his Horse, and received several Wounds, he had much ado to get off himself, being the last Man in the Retreat. The *Megalopolitans* saved themselves at *Messene*, whither *Cleomenes* sent to offer them their Town and Goods again. *Philopæmen* perceiving them transported with the News, and eager to return, stop'd them with a Speech, in which he made them sensible that what *Cleomenes* called restoring the City, was taking the Citizens, and holding it with more Security: That bare Solitude would without more ado force him presently away, since there was no staying for him to guard empty Houses and naked Walls. These Reasons stay'd the *Megalopolitans*, but gave occasion to *Cleomenes* to pillage and destroy a great part of the City, and carry away much Booty.

A while after King *Antigonus* coming down to succour the *Achæans*, they march'd with their united Forces against *Cleomenes*; who having seiz'd the Avenues, lay advantageously posted on the Hills of *Sellacia*. *Antigonus* drew up close by him, with a resolution to force him in this Post; *Philopæmen* with his Citizens was that day placed among the Horse, follow'd by the *Illyrian* Foot, a great number of try'd and able Men, who brought up the Rear of the Army. Their Orders were to keep their Ground, and not engage 'till from the other Wing, where the King fought in Person, they should see a red Coat of Arms lifted up on the Point of a Spear. The *Achæans* obey'd their Orders, and stood fast: but the *Illyrians* fell briskly in. *Euclidas* the Brother of *Cleomenes*, seeing the Foot thus sever'd from the Horse, detach'd the best of his light-arm'd Men, commanding them to wheel about, and charge the naked *Illyrians* behind; this Charge putting things in Confusion, *Philopæmen* considering those light-arm'd Men might easily

be

be dispersed, went first to the King's Officers, to make them sensible what the Occasion requir'd. But they not minding what he said, but slighting him as hair-brain'd, because he was yet of small Credit, and not reputed a Man of Conduct, he charg'd them with his own Citizens, and at the first Encounter disorder'd, and soon after put those Men to flight with great Slaughter. Then to encourage the King's Army to fall upon the Enemy while he was in confusion, he quitted his Horse, and fighting with extreme difficulty in his heavy Horse-arms, in rough uneven Ground, full of Springs and Bogs, had both his Thighs struck through with a thong'd Javelin. It was thrown with such force that the Head came out on the other Side, and made a great, though not a mortal Wound, There he stood a while, as if he had been shackled and unable to remove. The Thong in the middle of the Weapon hinder'd it from being drawn out, nor would Any about him venture to do it. But the Fight being now at the hottest, and like to be quickly over, he was transported with desire of Combat, and struggled and strained so long, setting one Leg forward, the Other back, 'till at last he broke the Staff, and had the Pieces pull'd out. Being in this manner set at Liberty, he caught up his Sword, and running through the midst of Those who were fighting in the first Ranks, strongly animated his Men, and set them a-fire with Emulation. *Antigonus*, after the Victory, ask'd the *Macedonians*, to try them, how it hapned the Horse had charged without Order before the Signal? They answering, that they were against their Wills forc'd to it by a young Gentleman of *Megalopolis*, who had fallen in before his time; *That young Gentleman*, reply'd *Antigonus* smiling, *did like an experienc'd Commander*.

This, as needs it must, brought *Philopæmen* into great Reputation. *Antigonus* was earnest to have him in his Service, and offer'd him very advantageous Conditions, both as to Command and Pay. But *Philopæmen*, who knew that his Nature brooked not to be under Another, would

would not accept them; yet not enduring to live idle, and hearing of Wars in *Crete*, he pass'd over thither. He spent some time among those very warlike, but withal sober, temperate People, improving much by Experience in all sorts of Service; and then return'd with so much Fame, that the *Achæans* presently chose him General of the Cavalry, who at that time had neither Experience nor Heart, having gotten a custom to serve on pitiful Horses, the first and cheapest they could procure, when they were to march; which too they seldom did, but hir'd Others in their places, and staid at home Themselves. Their former Commanders wink'd at This, because it being a Degree of Honour among the *Achæans* to serve on Horseback, they had a great deal of Power in the Commonwealth, and were able to gratify or molest whom they pleas'd. *Philopæmen* finding them in this Condition, yielded not to such relaxation of Discipline, nor would pass it over as formerly: But went Himself from Town to Town, where speaking with the young Gentlemen, Man by Man, he endeavour'd to bring them in love with Praise and Honour, and with making a handsom Appearance in the Field, setting Fines on Them who came unfurnish'd of what was requisite for their Parade. Where they were like to have most Spectators, there he would be sure to exercise them, and made them skirmish in sport One with Another. In a little time he made them wonderfully strong and bold, and, which is reckon'd of greatest Consequence in War, quick and vigorous. With Use and Industry they grew so perfect, had such a Command of their Horses, such a ready Exactness in wheeling Whole or Half-turns, and all other motions, that in the change of Posture, the whole Body seem'd as easily and as steadily mov'd as one Man. In the great Battle which they fought with the *Ætolians* and *Eliaus* by the River *Larissus*, He set then an Example himself. *Demophantes*, General of the *Eliau* Horse, singled out *Philopæmen*, and ran with full speed at him. *Philopæmen* prevented him, and with a violent Blow of his Spear overthrew

overthrew him dead to the Ground: Upon whose Fall the Enemy fled immediately. And now *Philopæmen's* Name was in every body's Mouth, as a Man who in personal Valour yielded not to the Youngest, nor to the Oldest in good Conduct; and than Whom there came not into the Field a better Soldier or Commander.

Aratus indeed was the first who rais'd the *Achæans*, inconsiderable 'till then, into Reputation and Power, by uniting the divided Cities into one Commonwealth, and settling a Way of Government, moderate, and becoming *Grecians*. Whence it hapned as in running Waters, where when few and little Bodies once stop, Others stick to them, and one part strengthning Another, the Whole becomes one firm and solid Body: So it was with *Greece* before the time of *Aratus*, when every City relying on itself, the Whole lay expos'd to an easy Destruction. 'Till the *Achæans* first united themselves into a Body, then drawing in their Neighbours round about, some by Protection, others by Naturalization, design'd at last to bring all *Peloponnesus* into one Community. Yet while *Aratus* liv'd, they depended much on the *Macedonians*, courting first *Ptolomy*, then *Antigonus* and *Philip*, who had a great Influence on the Affairs of *Greece*. But when *Philopæmen* came to command, the *Achæans* growing strong enough for the most powerful of their Enemies, would march no longer under Foreigners. The Truth is, *Aratus*, as we have written at large in his Life, was not of so warlike a Temper, but did most by Sweetness, a winning Carriage, and Friendship with Foreign Princes. But *Philopæmen*, being a Man both of Execution and Command, a great Soldier, and fortunate in his first Attempts, wonderfully heightned both the Power and Courage of the *Achæans*, accusom'd to Victory under his Conduct.

And first he alter'd what he found amiss in their Arms and form of Battle. Formerly they us'd light, thin Bucklers; too narrow to cover the Body, and Javelins much shorter than Those of the *Macedonians*. By which

which means they were well fitted for skirmishing at a distance, but in a close Fight had much the disadvantage. Then in their form of Battle they understood nothing of fighting in a Ring, nor any Figure but a Square; to which too not allowing Front enough, nor closing it strongly, as in the *Macedonian* Phalanx, where the Soldiers shoulder close, and their Bucklers touch, they were easily open'd and broken. *Philopœmen* reform'd all This, persuading them to change the narrow Target and short Javelin, into a large Buckler and long Pike; to arm their Heads, Bodies, Thighs and Legs; and instead of loose skirmishing, fight firmly, and Foot to Foot. After he had brought them all to wear Armour, and by that means into the confidence of thinking themselves now invincible, he turn'd their wanton riotous Profusions into an honourable Expence. For being long us'd to vie in Cloaths, Furniture of their Houses, and Service of their Tables, he saw there was no curing them of this Vanity, no more than you can cure an inveterate Malady; he therefore endeavour'd to divert this Vanity of theirs from these Superfluities to things useful and laudable, and quickly prevail'd upon them to be sparing in their other Expences, that they might make a finer Appearance in their warlike Equipage. Nothing then was to be seen in the Shops but Plate breaking or melting down, gilding of Backs and Breasts, studding Bucklers and Bits with Silver: Nothing in the places of Exercise, but Horses managing, and young Men exercising their Arms: Nothing in the Ladies Hands but Helmets and Crests, Feathers of all Colours, embroidered Coat-Armors, and Caparisons for Horses. The Sight of which Bravery quickning and raising their Spirits, made them contemn Dangers, and ready to venture on any honourable Exploits.

Much Expence in other things that attract our Eyes is apt to produce Luxury and Effeminacy; the tickling of the Sense slackning the Vigour of the Mind; but in These it strengthened and heightned their Courage; as *Homer* makes *Achilles* at the Sight of his new Arms

springing with Joy, and on fire to use them. When *Philopæmen* had obtain'd of them to arm, and set themselves out in this manner, he proceeded to train them, mustering and exercising them perpetually, and They obey'd him with great Exactness. For they were wonderfully pleas'd with their new Form of Battle, which being so knit and cemented together, seem'd almost impossible to be broken. And then their Arms, which for their Riches and Beauty they wore with Pleasure, becoming light and easy with constant use, they longed for nothing more than to try them with an Enemy, and fight in earnest.

The *Achæans* at that time were at War with *Machanidas* the Tyrant of *Lacedæmon*, who having a strong Army, watch'd all Opportunities of 'becoming entire Master of *Peloponnesus*. When Intelligence came that he was fallen upon the *Mantineans*, *Philopæmen* presently took the Field, and march'd towards him. They met near *Mantineia*, and drew up in Sight of the City. Besides the whole Strength of their several Cities, they Both had a good Number of Mercenaries in pay. When they came to fall on, *Machanidas*, with his hir'd Soldiers, broke the Darts and Lances of the *Tarentins*, which *Philopæmen* had plac'd in the Front, to cover the *Achæans*. But when he should have charg'd immediately into the main Battle, which stood close and firm, he hotly follow'd the Chace; and instead of routing the *Achæans* Army, disorder'd his Own. With so untoward a Beginning the rest of the Confederates gave themselves for lost, but *Philopæmen* seem'd to slight and make it a matter of small Consequence; and observing the Enemy's Oversight, who had left their main Body undefended, and the Ground clear, would not make head against *Machanidas*, but let him pursue the Chace freely, 'till he had run himself a great distance from his main Body. Then seeing the *Lacedæmonians* before him, deserted by their Horse, with their Flanks quite bare, he charg'd suddenly, and surpris'd them without a Commander, and not so much as expecting an En-

counter;

counter: For when they saw *Machanidas* driving the beaten Enemy before him, they thought the Victory already gain'd. He overthrew them with a great Slaughter, for They report above four Thousand kill'd in the Place; and then fac'd about against *Machanidas*, who was returning with his Mercenaries from the Pursuit. There happen'd to be a broad deep Ditch between them, where Both strove a while, One to get over and fly, the Other to hinder him. It bore a resemblance of wild Beasts, fore'd to fight for their Lives more than of Generals in a Field or rather *Philopæmen* seem'd to be an incens'd Huntsman determin'd not to quit his Prey. The Tyrant's Horse was mettled and strong; and feeling the bloody Spurs in his Sides, ventur'd to take the Ditch. He had already planted his hinder feet on the Bank, and rais'd his forefeet to leap, when *Simmius* and *Polyænus*, who us'd to fight by the side of *Philopæmen*, came up on Horseback to his Assistance. But *Philopæmen*, preventing Both, advanc'd against *Machanidas* Himself; and perceiving that the Horse with his Head high-rear'd, cover'd his Master's Body; he turn'd his own a little, and striking at the Tyrant with all his force, tumbled him dead into the Ditch.

The *Achæans*, wonderfully taken with his Valour in this single Combat, and with his Conduct the whole day, set up his Statue in Brass at *Delpbi*, in the Posture in which he kill'd the Tyrant. The Report goes, that at the *Nemæan* Games, a little after the Victory, *Philopæmen* being then General the second time, and at leisure by reason of the Solemnity, first shew'd the *Grecians* his Army, drawn up as if they were to fight, with all the Motions occurring in a Battle perform'd with wonderful Order, Strength, and Activity. After which he went into the Theatre, while the Musicians were singing for the Prize, waited on by Gentlemen in their Coats of Mail, all handsom Men and in the flower of their Age, and all carrying a great respect to their General; yet breathing out a noble Confidence in themselves, rais'd by success in many glorious Encoun-

ters. At their coming in, by chance one *Pilades*, a Musician, with a Voice well suited to the lofty Stile of the Poet, was singing this Verse out of the *Persians* of *Timotheus*,

Under his Conduct Greece was free and great.

The whole Theatre presently cast their Eyes on *Philopæmen*, and fell a clapping with wonderful Joy, ravish'd with Hopes to recover again their former Fame, and already believing themselves inspired with a Greatness of Spirit little short of their ancient Virtue.

Now it was with the *Achæans*, as with young Horses, which go quietly with their usual Riders, but boggle and grow unruly under Strangers. The Soldiers, when any hot Service was towards, and *Philopæmen* not at their Head, grew dejected, and look'd about for him, but if He once appear'd, came presently to themselves, and recover'd their Confidence and Courage. Of which their very Enemies being sensible, they could not endure to look Him in the Face: but, as appear'd in several Occasions, were frighted with his very Name.

Philip King of *Macedon*, thinking to terrify the *Achæans* into Subjection again, if he could rid his hands of *Philopæmen*, employed Some privately to assassinate him. But the Treachery coming to light, he became infamous, and mortally hated through all *Greece*. The *Bæotians* besieging *Megara*, and ready to carry the Town by Storm, upon a groundless Rumour, that *Philopæmen* was at hand with succour, run away, and left their scaling Ladders already fastned to the Walls. *Nabis*, (who became Tyrant of *Lacedæmon* after the Death of *Machanidas*) had surpriz'd *Messene* at a time when *Philopæmen* was out of Command. He try'd to persuade *Lyfippus*, then General of the *Achæans*, to succour *Messene*: But not prevailing with him, because he said the Enemy being now within, the Place was irrecoverably lost, he resolv'd to go Himself, without Order or Commission, but follow'd by his own Citizens, who

who went all with him as their General by Commission from Nature, which has decreed that He should be obey'd, who is fittest to command. *Nabis*, hearing of his coming, tho' his Army lay quarter'd within the Town, thought it not convenient for him to stay; but stealing out of the farthest Gate with his Men, march'd away with all the speed he could, thinking himself a happy Man if he could get off with safety. And he did escape, but *Messene* was rescued.

All hitherto makes for the Praise and Honour of *Philopæmen*. But when, at the request of the *Gortynians*, he return'd again into *Crete* to command for them, at a time when his own Country was distressed by *Nabis*, he was taxed either of Cowardise, in shunning to fight a dangerous Enemy, or else of an unreasonable Vanity in courting the Praise of Foreigners at such a time. For the *Megalopolitans* were then so press'd, that the Enemy being Master of the Field, and encamping almost at their Gates, they were forc'd to keep themselves within their Walls, and sow their very Streets with Corn for food. And he flying from a War at home, and commanding in chief in a foreign Nation, furnish'd his Ill-willers with matter enough for their Reproaches. Some said he took the Offer of the *Gortynians*, because the *Achaëans* chose other Generals, and left Him but a private Man, for he could not endure to sit still, but looking upon War, and commanding in it, as his great Business, always coveted to be employ'd. And This agrees with what he once said smartly of King *Ptolemy*. Somebody was praising him for keeping his Army and Himself in perpetual Exercise: And what Praise, reply'd *Philopæmen*, is it for a King of his Years, to be always preparing, and never performing? However, the *Megalopolitans* thinking themselves betray'd, took it so ill, that they were about to banish him. But the *Achaëans* dash'd that design, by sending their Prætor *Ariftenetus* to *Megalopolis*, who, tho' he were at difference with *Philopæmen* about Affairs of the Commonwealth, yet would not suffer him to be banish'd.

nish'd. *Philopœmen* being upon this account out of favour with his Citizens, drew off divers of the little neighbouring Places from obeying them, putting it in their Heads to say, that from the beginning they were not subject to their Taxes, or Laws, or any way under their Command. In these Pretences he openly took their part, and at the same time fomented Seditions in the City against the *Achæans*. But these things happen'd a while after.

While he staid in *Crete*, in the Service of the *Gortynians*, he made War not like a *Peloponnesian* or *Arcadian*, fairly in the open Field, but fought with them at their own Weapons, and turning their Stratagems and Tricks against Themselves, soon made them see that they were only good at low Craft, and were but Children to an experienc'd Soldier. Having manag'd it then with great Bravery, and great Reputation to Himself, he return'd into *Peloponnesus*, where he found *Philip* beaten by *T. Quintius*, and *Nabis* at War both with the *Romans* and *Achæans*. He was presently chosen General against *Nabis*, but venturing to fight by Sea, seem'd to have split upon the same Rock with *Epaminondas*, and by a Success very different from the general Expectation, and his own Fame, lost much of his former Reputation. But for *Epaminondas*, Some report he was backward by design, to disgust his Countrymen with the Sea, lest of good Soldiers, they should by little and little turn, as *Plato* says, ill Mariners: And therefore return'd from *Asia* and the Islands, without doing any thing to the purpose. Whereas *Philopœmen* thinking his Skill in Land-service would prevail likewise at Sea, only learnt what a Share Experience has in making our Courage successful, and how much it imports in the Management of things to be accustomed to them: For He was not only put to the worst in the Fight for want of Skill, but having rigg'd up an old Ship, which had been a famous Vessel forty Years before, and shipp'd his Citizens in her, she foundring, he had like to have lost them All. But then finding the Enemy, as if he had

had been driven out of the Sea, had, in contempt of him, besieged *Gytbeon*, he presently set sail again, and taking them unexpectedly, dispers'd, and careless after the Victory, landed in the Night, burnt their Camp, and kill'd a great Number of them.

A few Days after, as he was marching thro' rough and narrow Passages, *Nabis* came suddenly upon him. The *Achæans* were dismay'd, and in so strait a Place, the Passage from which was shut up by the Enemy, despair'd to get off with Safety. *Philopæmen* made a little halt, and when he had view'd the Ground, made it appear, that the greatest thing in War is Skill in drawing up an Army. For by advancing only a few Paces, and without any Confusion or Trouble, altering his Order according to the Nature of the Place, he presently took away all Apprehensions from his Men, and then charging, put the Enemy to flight. But when he saw they fled not towards the City, but dispers'd every Man a different way all over the Field, which for Wood and Hills, Brooks and Ditches was not passable for Horse, he founded a Retreat, and encamped by broad Daylight. Then foreseeing the Enemy would endeavour to steal scatteringly into the City in the dark, he posted strong Parties of the *Achæans* all along the Banks and Hillocks near the Walls. Many of *Nabis's* Men fell into their Hands; for returning not in a Body, but as the chance of Flight had dispos'd of every one, they were caught like Birds, ere they could enter into the Town.

For these things he was wonderfully loved and esteem'd by the *Grecians*, who in their Theatres loaded him with Honours, but those got him the secret Ill-will of *Titus Flaminius*, a Man covetously ambitious of Glory. For He thought it but reasonable a Consul of *Rome* should be otherwise esteem'd by the *Achæans*, than a Gentleman of *Arcadia*; especially seeing there was no Comparison between what He, and what *Philopæmen* had done for them. For He by one Proclamation

tion had restored all that part of *Greece*, as had been under *Philip* and the *Macedonians*, to liberty. After This *Titus* made Peace with *Nabis*, and *Nabis* was circumvented and slain by the *Ætolians*. Things being then in Confusion at *Sparta*, *Philopæmen* lay'd hold on that Occasion, and coming upon them with his Army, prevail'd with Some by Persuasion, with Others by Fear, 'till he brought the whole City over to the *Achæans*. As it was no small matter for *Sparta* to become a Member of *Achaia*, this Action gained him infinite Praise from the *Achæans*, for strengthening the Union by the Addition of so great and powerful a City, and not a little Good-will from the Nobility of *Sparta* itself, who hoped they had now procured a General who would defend their Freedom.

Wherefore having made a hundred and twenty Silver Talents by Sale of the House and Goods of *Nabis*, they decreed Him the Money, and to send Some in the Name of the City to present it. But here the Honesty of *Philopæmen* appear'd, as it was, a real uncounterfeited Virtue. There was not a Man amongst them that would undertake to mention the matter to him, but every one excusing himself, and shifiting it off to his Fellow, they laid it at last on *Timolaus*, with whom *Philopæmen* had lodg'd at *Sparta*. *Timolaus* came to *Megalopolis*, and was entertain'd by *Philopæmen*; but struck into Admiration with his grave manner of Discourse, his thrifty and upright way of living, judg'd him not a Man to be tempted, and so, pretending other Business, return'd without a Word mention'd of the Present. He was sent again, and did just as formerly. But the third time, with much ado and faltring in his Words, he acquainted *Philopæmen* with the Good-will of the City of *Sparta* to him. *Philopæmen* hearkned to him obligingly and gladly, and then went himself to *Sparta*, where he advis'd them not to bribe good Men, and their Friends, of whose Virtue they might be sure without Charge to themselves; but buy off and silence
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ill Citizens, who were perpetually disquieting the City with their seditious Speeches in the Senate, or to the People. For it, was better to bar Liberty of Speech in Enemies, than in Friends. Thus it appear'd how much *Philopæmen* was above Bribery.

Diophanes being afterwards General of the *Achæans*, and hearing the *Lacedæmonians* were bent on new Com-motions, resolv'd to chastise them. They on the other side being set upon War, embroil'd all *Peloponnesus*. *Philopæmen* did what he could to sweeten *Diophanes*, and make him sensible, that as the Times went, while *Antiochus* and the *Romans* were disputing their vast Pre-tensions with mighty Armies in the Heart of *Greece*, it concerned a Man in his Employment to keep a watch-ful Eye over them, and dissembling and putting up many Injuries to preserve all quiet at home. *Diophanes* would not be ruled, but joined with *Titus*, and Both together falling into *Laconia*, marched directly to *Sparta*. *Philopæmen* was so nettled, that he did an Action in itself not justifiable, but which proceeded from a great and undaunted Spirit; for getting into the Town him-self, He, a private Man as he was, kept out both the Consul of *Rome* and General of *Achaia*, quieted the Disorders in the City, and re-united it once again to the *Achæans*.

Yet afterwards when he was General himself, upon some new Misdemeanor of the *Lacedæmonians*, he brought back Those who had been banish'd, and put, as *Polybius* writes, eighty, according to *Aristocrates* three hundred and fifty Citizens to death, raz'd the Walls, took away a good part of their Territory, and laid it to the *Megalopolitans*, forced out of the Country, and carried into *Achaia*, All who had been made free of *Sparta* by Tyrants, except three thousand who would not submit to Banishment. Those he sold for Slaves, and with the Money, as if to insult over them, built a Porch at *Megalopolis*. Lastly, unworthily trampling upon the *Lacedæmonians* in their Calamities, and even
glutting

glutting his Hatred with a most cruel and inhuman Action, he abolish'd the Laws of *Lycurgus*, and forced them to educate their Children, and live after the manner of the *Achæans*. For while they kept to the Discipline of *Lycurgus*, there was no pulling down their haughty Spirits; but now their Calamities had given *Philopæmen* opportunity to cut the Sinews of their Commonwealth asunder, they were brought low, and grew tame and humble. Yet This lasted not long; for applying themselves to the *Romans*, and getting their Consent, they soon threw off their new *Achaian* Fashions; and, as much as in so miserable and depraved a Condition they could, re-establish'd their old Discipline.

When the War betwixt *Antiochus* and the *Romans* broke out in *Greece*, *Philopæmen* was a private Man: At which time he repin'd grievously, when he saw *Antiochus* lay idle at *Calcis*, spending his time in unseasonable Courtships and Weddings, and his Men dispersed in several Towns without Order or Commanders, and minding nothing but their Pleasures. He used to tell the *Romans* that he envy'd their Victory; and that if he had had the Fortune to be then in Command, he would have surpris'd the Enemy, and cut all their Throats at their Debauches. When *Antigonus* was overcome, the *Romans* press'd harder upon *Greece*, and surrounded the *Achæans* with their Power; the leading Men in the several Cities grew out of heart, the great Strength of the whole Body insensibly vanish'd, and the rolling of Fortune began to settle on the *Roman* Basis. *Philopæmen* in this Conjuncture carried himself like a good Pilot in a high Sea, Sometimes shifting Sail, and sometimes yielding, but still steering steady; and omitting no Opportunity nor Earnestness to keep All who were considerable, whether for Eloquence or Riches, fast to the Defence of their common Liberty.

Aristinæus a *Megalopolitan* of great Credit among the *Achæans*, but always a Favourer of the *Romans*, said one Day in the Senate, that the *Romans* were not

to be displeased, or refused any thing. *Philopæmen* heard him with an impatient Silence: But at last not able to hold longer, said angerly to him, *And why in such haste, wretched Man, to behold an End of Greece? Manlius*, the Roman Consul, after the Defeat of *Antiochus*, moved the *Achæans* to restore the banish'd *Lacedæmonians* to their Country, which Motion was seconded and supported by all the Interest of *Titus*. But *Philopæmen* cross'd it, not for any Ill-will to the Men, but because they should be beholden to Him and the *Achæans*, not to *Titus* and the *Romans*. For when he came to be Prætor himself, He restored them. So impatient was his great Spirit of doing things by Command, and so prone his Nature to contend with Men in Power.

Being now threescore and ten, and the eighth time General, he was in hope to pass in quiet, not only the Year of his Magistracy, but his remaining Life. For as Diseases are weaker in weaker Bodies, the quarrelling Humour of the *Grecians* abated much with their Power. But envious Fortune threw him down in the close of his Life, like one who with unmatchable speed runs over all the Race, and stumbles at the Goal. 'Tis reported, that being in company where one was praised for a great Commander, he reply'd, *there was no great account to be made of a Man, who had suffered himself to be taken alive by his Enemies.*

A few Days after, News came that *Dinocrates* a *Messenian*, a particular Enemy to *Philopæmen*, and for his Wickedness and Villanies generally hated, had brought *Messene* to revolt from the *Achæans*, and was about to seize a little Place called *Colonis*. *Philopæmen* lay then sick of a Fever at *Argos*. Upon the News he hastened away, and reached *Megalopolis*, which was distant above four hundred Furlongs, in one Day. From thence he presently drew out a choice Body of Horse, consisting of the chiefest of the City, in the vigour of their Age and Mettle, and forward in the matter, both from their extraordinary Love to *Philopæmen*, and from their Love
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of Glory. As they marched towards *Messene*, they met with *Dinocrates* about *Evander's* Hill, charged and routed him. But five hundred fresh Men, who being left for a Guard to the Country came late in, hapning to appear, the flying Enemy rally'd again about the Hills. *Philopæmen* fearing to be inclosed, and solicitous for his Men, retreated over Ground extremely disadvantageous, bringing up the Rear in Person. As he often faced and ran upon the Enemy, he drew them all upon Himself; yet they only wheel'd about him and shouted, no Body daring to approach him. With care to save every single Man, he left his main Body so often, that at last He was left Himself alone among the thickest of his Enemies. Yet even then None durst come up to him, but being pelted at a distance, and driven to stony steep Places, he was fain with much spurring to wind up and down as he was able: His Age was no hindrance to him, for with perpetual Exercise it was both strong and active. But being weakned with Sicknefs, and tired with his long Journey, his Horse stumbling, threw him, encumber'd with his Arms, and faint, upon a hard and rugged piece of Ground. His Head being grievously bruised with the Fall, he lay a while speechless, so that the Enemy thinking him dead began to turn and strip him. But when they saw him lift up his Head, and open his Eyes, they threw themselves in crouds upon him, bound his Hands behind him, and carry'd him off with all the provoking Scorn and opprobrious Language of insulting Insolence; Him, I say, who had never so much as dream'd of being led in triumph by *Dinocrates*.

The *Messenians*, wonderfully puffed up, with the News, thronged in Swarms to the City Gates. But when they saw *Philopæmen* in a Posture so unsuitable to the Glory of his great Actions and famous Victories, most of them struck with Grief, and cursing the deceitful Vanity of human Fortune, fell a weeping with Compassion, Their Tears by little and little turn'd to kind

kind Words, and 'twas almost in every Body's Mouth, that they ought to remember what he had done for Them and the Common Liberty, which, by driving away *Nabis*, he had preserved. Some few, to make their Court to *Dinocrates*, were for tormenting, and putting him to Death, as a dangerous and irreconcilable Enemy; that if once he got loose, *Dinocrates* was lost, who had taken him Prisoner, and used him basely. They put him at last into a Dungeon under ground, which they called *The Treasury*, a place into which there comes no Air, nor Light from abroad; and which having no Doors, is closed with a great Stone, which rolling to the entrance, they fix'd, and placing a Guard about it, left him. In the mean time *Philopæmen's* Soldiers recovering themselves after their Flight, and fearing he was dead when he appeared no where, made a Stand, calling him with loud Cries, and reproaching one another with their unworthy and shameful Escape; and betraying their General, who to preserve Their Lives had lost his Own. Then they fell to searching curiously every where, 'till hearing at last he was taken, they sent away Messengers round about with the News. The *Achæans* resented the Misfortune deeply, and decreed to send and demand Him, and in the mean time drew their Army together for his Rescue.

While these things pass'd in *Achaia*, *Dinocrates* fearing Delays would save *Philopæmen*, resolved to be before-hand with the *Achæans*; wherefore as soon as Night had dispers'd the Multitude, he sent in the Executioner with Poison, and ordered him not to stir from him 'till he had taken it. *Philopæmen* was then laid down, wrapt up in his Cloke, not sleeping, but oppress'd with Grief and Trouble. But seeing Light, and a Man with Poison by him, he struggled to sit up, and taking the Cup, ask'd the Executioner if he heard any thing of the Horsemen, particularly *Lycortas*? The Fellow answering, that the most Part had got off safe; he nodded, and looking chearfully upon him, 'Tis well,

says he, *that we are not every way unfortunate.* And without a Word more, drank it off, and laid him down again. His Weakness struggling but little with the Poison, it dispatch'd him presently.

The News of his Death fill'd all *Achaia* with Grief and Lamentation. The Youth, with some of the Chief of the several Cities, met at *Megalopolis*, with a Resolution to take Revenge without delay. They chose *Lycortas* General, and falling upon the *Messeni-ans*, put all to Fire and Sword, 'till the City by common consent yielded. *Dinocrates*, with as many as had voted for his Death, prevented their Revenge, and kill'd themselves. Those who would have had him tormented, *Lycortas* put in Chains. They burnt his Body, and put the Ashes into an Urn, and then marched homeward, not in a disordered hurry, but with a kind of solemn Pomp, half Triumph, half Funeral, Crowns of Victory on their Heads, and Tears in their Eyes, their Captive Enemies in Fetters by them. *Polybius*, the General's Son, carried the Urn, whereof there was hardly any thing to be seen but Garlands and Ribbons. The chief of the *Achaens* marched near to *Polybius*. The Soldiers follow'd, bravely arm'd and mounted, with Looks neither altogether sad as in Mourning, nor lofty as in Victory. The People from all Towns and Villages in their way, flock'd out to meet him, as at his return from Conquest, and saluting and touching the Urn, fell in with the Company, and follow'd on to *Megalopolis*. Where when the old Men, the Women and Children were mingled with the rest, the whole City was fill'd with Sighs, Complaints and Cries, looking upon the loss of *Philopæmen* as the loss of their Greatness, and on Themselves as no longer Chief among the *Achaens*. So he was honourably buried according to his Worth, and the Prisoners put to death, by stoning them about the Place where his Monument was erected.

Many Statues were set up, and many Honours decreed him by the several Cities; all which a certain Roman, who after the Destruction of *Corinth* prosecuted him, as if he had been alive, for an Enemy to the Romans, would have remov'd. The business made a Noise, and *Polybius* fully refuted the Slanderer. So that neither *Mummius* nor his Lieutenants would suffer the honourable Monuments of so great a Man to be defaced, though he had often cross'd both *Titus* and *Manlius*. They distinguish'd well, in my Opinion, and as became Honest Men, betwixt Interest and Virtue, Honest and Profitable, when they thought Thanks and Reward due to Him who does a Benefit, from Him who receives it, and Honour never to be deny'd by the Good to the Good. And so much concerning *Philopoemen*.





THE L I F E O F TITUS Q. FLAMINIUS.



Titus Quintius Flaminius (whom we pitch upon for a Parallel to *Philopœmen*) what He was as to his outward appearance, They who are led with a Curiosity that way, may see in his Brazen Statue, which stands in Rome next that of the Great *Apollo*, brought from *Carthage*, opposite to the *Circus Maximus*, with a *Greek* Inscription upon it. But for the Temper of his Mind, it is said to have been extremely warm, both in his expressions of Anger or Esteem, but not to an equal pitch or continuance in both; for when he came to Punishing, his Anger was soon over, and the Punishment light. But whatever Courtesy or good Turn he set about, he went thro' with it. So civil, so obliging was he always to them on whom he poured his Favours, as if They, not he, had been the Benefactors. He practised as much Observance, and Care towards all that had tasted of his Beneficence, as if in Them had been lodg'd his choicest Treasures: But being ever thirsty after Honour, if any things of a great and extraordinary Nature were to be done, he chose to owe only to himself the Glory of such Actions, and therefore took more pleasure in Those that

that needed, than in Those that were capable of conferring Courtesies ; looking on the former as proper Objects for his Virtue, and on the latter as his Competitors in Glory.

Rome had then many and sharp Contests abroad ; and her Youth betaking themselves early to the Wars, learn'd betimes the Art of Commanding, when *Flaminius*, having pass'd through the Rudiments of Soldiery began his first Charge in the War against *Hannibal*, as Commander of a thousand Foot under *Marcellus* the then Consul. *Marcellus* indeed, falling into an Ambuscade, was cut off. But *Titus* getting the Governorship as well of *Tarentum* (then re-taken a second time) as of the Country about it, grew no less famous for his Admiration of Justice, than for his Military Skill. This occasioned him to be appointed Chieftain and Leader of those two Colonies which were sent into the Cities of *Nania* and *Cossa* ; which fill'd him with loftier Thoughts, and made him step over those previous Honours which such young Candidates use to pass through of Tribune, Prætor, and Ædile, and level his first aim at the Consulship. Having therefore these Colonies, and all that Interest ready at his Devotion, without more ado, he stands for it : But the Tribunes of the People, *Fulvius* and *Manlius*, and their Party, strongly oppos'd him ; alledging how undecent a thing, how ill a Precedent it was, that a Man of such raw Years, one who was yet, as 'twere, untrain'd, never initiated in the first sacred Rites and Mysteries of Government, shou'd, in contempt and opposition of their Laws, intrude and force himself into the Sovereignty.

However, the Senate remitted it to the Peoples choice and suffrage, who elected Him (though not then arrived at his thirtieth Year) and *Sextus Ælius* Consuls. The War against *Philip* and the *Macedonians* fell to *Titus* by Lot ; and surely some kind Genius, propitious at that time to the Roman Affairs, had a hand in the drawing it : For the *Macedonians* were not Men of that stubborn Nature, as to need a General to be sent against

them, who would always be upon the point of force and dry blows, but were rather reducible by persuasion and gentle usage. It is true that the Kingdom of *Macedon* furnish'd Supplies enough to *Philip*, to enable him to adventure on a single Battle with the *Romans*; but to maintain a long and lingering War, he must call in Aid from *Greece*; from *Greece* must he recruit his strength; from *Greece* replenish his stores; from thence must he borrow his strong holds and retreating places; and, in a word, all the Materials of War must the *Macedonian* Army fetch from thence. Unless therefore that the *Grecians* could be taken off from siding with *Philip*, this War with him must not expect its decision from a single Battle. Now *Greece* (who had not hitherto held much Correspondence with the *Romans*, and did but then begin to concern itself with their Affairs) would not so soon have embraced a Foreign Authority instead of the Governors she had been inur'd to, had not the *Roman* Consul been of a sweet and winning Nature, one who worked rather by fair means than force; of a most insinuating address in all Applications of himself to Others, and no less easy, courteous, and open to all Addresses of others to Him; but above all, one who had a constant Eye to Justice. But the after account of his Actions will best illustrate him as to these Particulars.

Titus finding that as well *Sulpitius*, as *Publius*, who had been his Predecessors in that Command, had not taken the Field against the *Macedonians* 'till late; and when their Consulships were on the point of expiring; and then too set their Hands but tenderly to the War, but stood skirmishing and scouting here and there for Passes and Provisions, and never came to close fighting with *Philip*: He thought it not meet to trifle away a Year, as they did, at home, in Ostentation of their new-gotten Honours, and in the Administration of Civil Affairs; and after, in the close of the Year, to betake themselves to the Army, a meer artifice to eke out their Dignity and Government a Year longer; acting the Consul in the First, and the General in the Latter. But *Ti-*

Titus was withal infinitely desirous to employ his Authority with effect upon the War ; which made him slight those Home Honours and Prerogatives. Requesting therefore of the Senate, that his Brother *Lucius* might go Admiral of the Navy, and taking with him three thousand gallant and stout Men, which he drew out of Those who, under *Scipio*, had defeated *Asdrubal* in *Iberia*, and *Hannibal* in *Africa*, he got safe into *Epirus* ; and finding *Publius* encamp'd with his Army over-against *Philip*, who had long made good the Pass over the River *Apsus*, and the Straits there ; *Publius* not having been able, for the natural strength of the Place, to effect any thing upon him : *Titus* therefore takes upon him the Conduct of the Army, and having dismissed *Publius*, begins with inquiring into the Nature of the Country.

The Country is no less inaccessible and impregnable than the craggy Rocks of *Tempe*, but falls short of that goodly Ornament of Trees, that verdant Prospect of the Woods ; it lacks *Tempe's* pleasant Fields and Walks at the foot of it ; for the *Apsus* (falling from those great and lofty Mountains, which, standing as a mighty Bank on each side the River, make a deep and large Channel in the midst) is not unlike the Civer *Peneus*, either for the swiftness of its Current, or the manner of it ; for it swells over, and covers the foot of those Hills, inso-much, that there's left only a cragged narrow Path, not easily passable at any time for an Army, but not at all when guarded by the *Enemy*. There were Some, therefore, who would fain have had *Titus* fetch a Compass through *Dassaretis*, along the River *Lycas*, which was a passable and easy Tract. But He fearing if he should engage himself too far from the Sea, into barren and untill'd Countries, and *Philip* should decline fighting, he might, through want of Provisions, be constrain'd to march back again to the Sea-side without effecting any thing, as his Predecessor had done before him ; This put him upon a Resolution of forcing his way over the Mountains. But *Philip* having possess'd himself of them with his Army, shower'd down his Darts and Arrows from

from all parts about the *Romans* Ears. Sharp were the Skirmishes, and Many fell wounded and slain on both sides, and small appearance there was of thus ending the War. When some of the Men, who fed their Cattle thereabouts, came to *Titus* with a Discovery, that there was a round-about Way, which the Enemy neglected to guard; through which they undertook to conduct his Army, and to bring them within three Days at farthest to the top of the Hills: and to gain the surer Credit with him, they alledged that *Charops* of *Macbara* was not only privy unto, but would make good all they had promised. (This *Charops* was at that time Prince of *Epirus*, and a Well-willer to the *Romans*, and one that gave them assistance, but under-hand, for fear of *Philip*.) *Titus*, crediting the Intelligence, sent away a Captain with four thousand Foot and three hundred Horse: These Herdsmen were their Guides, but kept in Bonds. In the Day-time they lay still under the Covert of the hollow and woody Places, but in the Night they march'd by Moon-light (for the Moon was then at full.) *Titus* having detach'd off this Party, lay still afterwards with his main Body, unless it were that he sometimes gall'd and incommoded the Enemy's Camp, by shooting up amongst them.

But when the Day arrived, on which Those who stole round were expected upon the Top of the Hill, he drew up his Forces early into Battalia, as well the light-arm'd as the heavy, and dividing them into three parts, Himself led the Van, marching his Men along the Bank, up the narrowest point of those Straits, darted at by the *Macedonians*, and engaging amidst those Rocks hand to hand with all his Assailants. Whilst the other two Squadrons, on either side of him, with a transcendent Alacrity and Courage, clinging to the Rocks, as if they had grown to them, contended all they could to come to Action. But when the Sun was up, a thin Smoke discovered itself rising afar off, (like Mists that usually hang upon the Hills,) but unperceiv'd by the Enemy, because it was behind them, (for it came from the Troops who had

had already gain'd the Tops of the Hills) and the Romans as yet under a Doubt and Suspence in the Toil and Difficulty they were in, construed their Hopes according to their Desires. But as it grew thicker and thicker, spreading Darkness over the Air, and mounting to a greater height, they no longer doubted but it was the Fiery-signal of their Companions, whereupon they gave a mighty Shout, and climbing up stoutly and courageously, they drave the Enemy into the most craggy places; in the interim Those behind the Enemy echoed back their Acclamations from the top of the Mountain. Quickly then did the *Macedonians* fly with all the Heels they could make; there fell not more than two thousand of them, for the difficulties of the Place allowed not a long and close Pursuit. But the *Romans* pillaged their Camp, seiz'd upon their Wealth and Slaves, and becoming absolute Masters of those Straits, travers'd over all *Epirus*; but with such Order and Discipline, with such Temperance and Moderation, that though they were far from the Sea, at a great distance from their Vessels, and stinted of their Monthly allowance of Corn, and the like Provisions, and wanting the Opportunities of Markets to furnish themselves from; yet plunder'd they not the Country, which had Provisions enough of all sorts in it. For *Titus* receiving Intelligence that *Philip* rather fled than march'd through *Thessaly*, that he forc'd the Inhabitants from the Towns to take shelter in the Mountains, that the Towns themselves he burnt down, that a great part of their Goods, which for the Quantity or Cumberfomness of them they could not carry with them, was given up as Plunder to his Troops; inso-much that the whole Country in a manner was quitted to the *Roman Army*: He therefore was very desirous, and intreated his Soldiers, that they would consider it as their own, and spare a Country, they themselves were to possess; and indeed they quickly perceived by the Event, what Benefit they derived from that Orderliness. For they no sooner set Foot in *Thessaly*, but the Cities surrender to him; and the *Grecians*, within the *Pyla*,
did

did perfectly long for, and were quite transported with a Zeal of committing themselves into the hands of *Titus*. The *Achaëans* not only broke their League with *Philip*, but, at the same time, voted to join with the *Romans* in actual Arms against him. As for the *Opuntines*; the *Aetolians* (who tho' they then acted with a mighty Forwardness and Valour in Confederacy with the *Romans*) did strongly solicit Them to put their City under Their Protection, but they embrac'd not the Proposition; but sending for *Titus*, they intrusted and committed themselves to Him.

It is reported of *Pyrrhus*, that when at the first from an adjacent Hill or Watch-Tower, which gave him a full Prospect of the *Roman Army*, he descry'd them so orderly drawn up, he should openly declare, " he espied " no Barbarity in the *Barbarians* Ranks. All that came near *Titus*, could not choose but say as much of him, at their first view: For they who had been told by the *Macedonians* of an Invader at the Head of a *Barbarian Army*, carrying every where Slavery and Destruction on his Sword's Point; when in lieu of such an one, they meet a Man, in the Flower of his Age, of a graceful Aspect, and full of Humanity, a *Grecian* in his Voice and Language, and a Lover of true Honour, they were most wonderfully pleas'd and satisfied in him; and when they left him, they fill'd the Cities and all Places where they came with a Value and Esteem for him; as reckoning they had now got a Leader to Liberty. And when afterwards *Philip* pretended he would condescend to Terms of Peace, *Titus* came, and made a Tender to him of Peace and Friendship, upon Condition that the *Grecians* be left to their own Laws and Liberties, and that he withdrew his Garrisons. This he refused to comply with. But now after these easy Proposals, the general Vogue of All, even of the Favourers and Partisans of *Philip*, was, that the *Romans* came not to fight against, but for the *Grecians*, and against the *Macedonians*. As for the rest of *Greece*, All clos'd with him in a yielding peaceable way.

As he march'd into *Bæotia*, without committing the least Act of Hostility, the Nobility and chief Men of *Thebes* came out of their City to meet him. These *Thebans*, by the Influence of *Brachyllelis* and his Faction, favour'd the *Macedonian* State, but however complimented and paid their Honour and Deference to *Titus*; for they were, yet, at Amity with both Parties. *Titus* received them in the most obliging and courteous manner, but kept going gently on, questioning and inquiring of them, and sometimes entertaining them with Narratives, amusing them on purpose that such of his Soldiers as were behind might come up with him. Thus passing easily on, He and the *Thebans* came together into their City, not much to their Satisfaction: But to deny him entrance they durst not, for a good competent number of his Men followed him in. *Titus* still proceeded by way of Address to them, as if he had not had the City at his Mercy, and persuaded them to declare for the *Romans*. King *Attalus* joined with him in the same Requests, pressing the *Thebans* so to do. But *Attalus* being ambitious to give *Titus* a Specimen of his Rhetorical Faculty beyond what, it seems, his Age could bear, a Dizziness or Flux of Rheum surprising him in the midst of his Speech, he swooned away, and, being not long after conveyed by Ship into *Asia*, died there. As for the *Bæotians*, they sided with the *Romans*.

But now when *Philip* sent an Embassy to *Rome*, *Titus* dispatch'd away Agents on His part too, to solicit the Senate to decree him a Continuance in his Command, if they did so to the War; or if they determin'd an End to That, that He might have the Honour of striking up the Peace. For having a great Itch after Glory, his Fear was, that if another General were commission'd to carry on the War, the Honour even of what was past would be lost to him; but his Friends transacted matters so well on his behalf, that *Philip* could obtain none of his Demands, and the Manage-

ment

ment of the War was continued in *Flaminius's* Hands. He no sooner received the Senate's Determination in this point, and the Ratification of his Authority; but, big with Hopes, he marched directly into *Thessaly*, to engage *Philip*. His Army consisted of twenty six thousand Men: Whereof the *Ætolians* furnished six thousand of the Foot, and four hundred of the Horse. The Forces of *Philip* were much about the same Number. In this Eagerness to encounter they advanced each against the other, 'till Both drew near unto *Scotusa*, where they resolv'd to hazard a Battle. The Vicinity of two such Puissant Armies had not the Effect that might have been easily supposed, to strike into the Generals a mutual Terror of each other, but rather inspir'd them with Ardor and Ambition; on the *Romans* part to be the Conquerors of *Macedon*; a Name which was Famous and Formidable amongst them for Strength and Valour, on the score of *Alexander's* Grandeur: Whilst the *Macedonians* on the other hand, esteeming the *Romans* as much more formidable Enemies than the *Persians*, hoped, if Victory stood on their side, to make the Name of *Philip* shine brighter in the Annals of Fame than That of *Alexander*. *Titus* therefore pressed and incited his Soldiers to play the part of Valiant and Daring Men, for that they were now to enter the Lists upon the most glorious Theatre of the World, *Greece*, and with Champions, that stand in Competition with the Foremost for Valour. *Philip*, on the other side, began an Harangue to his Men, as is usual to do just before an Engagement, to whet and call up their Courage: And in order to his being the better heard (whether it were merely accidental; or out of an unseasonable haste, not observing what he did;) he mounted upon an Eminence without their Camp, which prov'd indeed a Burying-place. *Philip* himself was not a little concern'd for the strange Damp and Despondency that seiz'd his Army at the Unluckiness of the Omen, insomuch that all that day he kept in his Camp,

Camp, and declined fighting. But on the morrow, as Day came on, after a slaby wet Night, the Clouds changing into a Mist, fill'd all the Plain with a mighty Darkness; and a foggy thick Air descending, by that time it was full Day, from the adjacent Mountains betwixt the two Camps, cover'd their Stations from each other's view; Whereupon the Parties sent out on either side, Some for an Ambuscade, Some for Discovery, falling in upon one another, quickly after they were thus detach'd from their main Bodies, began the Fight at the narrow Passage, called *Cynocephalæ* (that is *Dogs Heads*, which are sharp tops of Hills that stand thick and close to one another, and have gained the Name from the likeness of their Shape to a Dog's Head.) Now many turns and changes hapning, as may well be expected in such uneven Passages, sometimes hot in the pursuit, and sometimes the same Party flying as fast; each General commanded out Succours and Recruits from their Camp, as they saw their own pressed or giving ground, 'till at length the Heavens clearing up, let them into a fairer Prospect of all that passed; upon which the whole Armies became engaged. *Philip* who was in the Right Wing, from the advantage of the hanging Ground which he had, pour'd down his Forces upon the *Romans* with such briskness, that the stoutest of them could not stand the roughness of the Shock, nor bear up against the pressure of such close-compacted Files. But the Left Wing being, by reason of the hilliness of the Place, more shatter'd and broken, *Titus* observing it, and cherishing little or no hopes on that side where his Own gave Ground, made in all haste to the Other, and there charged in upon the *Macedonians*, who in regard of the Inequality and Roughness of the Country, could not keep their Body intire, nor line their Ranks to any great Depth (which is the principal Point of their Strength) but were forced to fight Man for Man, under heavy and unwieldy Armour: For the *Macedonian Phalanx* is of an unconquerable Strength,

whilst 'tis embody'd into One as it were, and kept lock'd together, Target to Target, All is in a piece; but, if once broken, every single Soldier that compos'd it, loses of his own private Strength; the Nature of their Armour is such; and besides, each of them is strong, rather, as among the rest he makes a part of the Whole, than in his single Person. When These were routed, Some gave chace to the Fliers, Others charg'd Those *Macedonians* in the Flanks who were still fighting; so that the conquering Wing was quickly shatter'd, put to flight, and threw down their Arms. There were then slain no less than eight thousand, and about five thousand were taken Prisoners. The *Ætolians* were the main occasion that *Philip* himself got safe off. For whilst the *Romans* were yet in pursuit, These fell to ravaging and plundering the Camp to that degree, that when the Others return'd they found no Booty in it. This bred at first hard Words, Quarrels and Misunderstandings betwixt them. But ever after they gall'd *Titus* more in ascribing the Victory to Themselves, and prepossessing the *Grecians* with Reports on their own behalf; insomuch that their Poets, and the Vulgar sort in the Ballads and Songs that were sung or written of this Action, still rank'd the *Ætolians* foremost: But the Verses that were most in every Body's Mouth were these:

*Without a Tear, without a Sigh,
Without a Monument or Grave,
Here, Passenger, thou mayst descry
On heaps we thrice ten thousand lie;
Alas! no Burial we could have.*

*Ætolian Protectors was our Overthrow,
And Latian Bands
Which Titus did command
From the broad Italian Strand
Have laid us low.*

*Sad Fate of Macedon ! Philip's daring Soul,
Which Lion like, when first he took the Field,
Thought that he might the Universe control :
But when, alas ! he once began to yield,
Like Stags pursu'd, he fled away,
But far more swift and more afraid than they.*

This was of *Alcæus* his composing, which he did in a Jear and Mockery to *Philip*, though indeed he belyed him in it, as to the Number of the Slain. However being frequently repeated, and by almost every body, *Titus* was more nettled at it than *Philip* ; for the latter play'd upon *Alcæus* again, annexing the following Verses by way of Elegy upon him.

*What, Traveller ! on yonder Hill you see,
A Lofty, Barkless, Leafe-less Gallews-Tree,
Stands to reward Alcæus's Poetry.*

But such little matters hainously fretted *Titus*, who affected a Reputation among the *Grecians*, and therefore he managed all After-Occurrences by Himself, and had but a very slender Regard for the *Ætolians*. This much incens'd them, and when *Titus* listened to terms of Accommodation, and had admitted of an Embassy upon the Proffers of the *Macedonian King*, these *Ætolians* made it their Business to divulge it through all the Cities of *Greece*, that he sold *Philip* his Peace, and that at a time when it was in his hand to have cut up all the Springs and Roots of War, and have laid waste that Empire which first put the Yoke of Servitude upon *Greece*. But whilst, with These and the like Rumours, the *Ætolians* laboured to shake the Roman Confederates ; *Philip* making Overtures of Submission of Himself and Kingdom to the Discretion of *Titus* and the *Romans*, put an End to those Jealousies ; as *Titus*, by accepting them, did to the War : For he reinstated *Philip* in his Kingdom of *Macedon*, but enjoined him at the same time to quit *Greece*, and fined him

him in a thousand Talents; he took also from him all his Shipping, save ten Vessels, and sent away *Demetrius*, one of his Sons, Hostage to *Rome*. In which he acted very wisely with regard to the present Exigencies, and foresaw and prevented those which were to come. For *Hannibal* the *African*, a professed Enemy to the *Roman* Name, an Exile from his own Country, and not long since arrived at King *Antiochus's* Court, press'd that Prince not to be wanting to the Good Fortune that had been hitherto so propitious to his Affairs: For his Arms as yet had never wanted a Success, and the Grandeur of his Actions had purchased him the Sirname of *GREAT*; insomuch that he began to level his aim at the universal Monarchy, but above all, to make some attempt upon the *Romans*. Had not therefore *Titus* upon a Principle of Prudence and Foresight lent an Ear to Peace, but instead of that, *Antiochus* had found *Philip* holding the *Romans* in play in *Greece*; and These Two the most Puissant and Warlike Princes of that Age, had confederated for the common Interest against the *Roman* State, *Rome* might once more have run as great a Risk, and been afresh reduced to no less Extremities than she had felt under *Hannibal*. But now *Titus* opportunely clapping in this Peace between the Wars, at once disappointed *Antiochus* of his first Hopes, and *Philip* of his last Refuge. In the mean time the ten Commissioners delegated to *Titus* from the Senate, advised him to restore the rest of *Greece* to their Liberty, but that *Corinth*, *Chalcis*, and *Demetrias* should be kept garrisoned for a Bulwark and Protection against *Antiochus*; but the *Ætolians*, always noted for Calumny, took from thence an Occasion to shake the Faith of the Cities in an eminent degree, for they called upon *Titus* to knock off the Shackles of *Greece*, (for so *Philip* used to term the aforesaid three Cities.) They asked the *Grecians*, Whether it were not matter of much Consolation to them, that, though their Chains weighed heavier, yet they were now neater and better polished than formerly? Whether *Titus* were not de-

servedly

*seruedly admired by them as their Benefactor, who had
 unshackled the Feet of Greece, and tied her up by the
 Neck? Titus vexed hereat, made it his Request to the
 Senate, and at last prevailed in it, that the Garrisons in
 these Cities should be discharg'd, that so the Grecians
 might be no longer Debtors to him, for a partial but
 entire Favour. The Isthmian Games were now renewed,
 and Multitudes sat crouded in the Theatre to see the
 Exercises; for Greece, who of late Days not only found
 Respite from War, and was in a full Possession of Peace,
 but entertained farther hopes of regaining her Liberty
 too, made Holiday for it: As These were celebrating,
 Silence was commanded by sound of Trumpet; and the
 Crier, stepping forth amidst the Spectators, makes Pro-
 clamations, " That the Roman Senate, and Titus Quin-
 tus the Proconsular General, having vanquished King
 Philip and the Macedonians, restored the Corinthians,
 Locrians, Phocæans, Eubœans, Achæans, Pthistiæans,
 Magnetians, Thessalians, and Perræbians to their own
 Country, Laws, and Liberty; took off all Imposi-
 tions upon them, and withdrew their Garrisons
 thence." At the first, Many heard not at all, and
 Others not distinctly what was said; but an odd kind
 of Bustle and Stir there was in the Theatre, Some won-
 dering, Some asking, Some calling out to the Crier,
Repeat that again, Repeat that again. When therefore
 fresh Silence was made, the Crier raising his Voice, his
 Speech more easily reached the Ears of the Company.
 The Shout, which in that Ecstasy of Joy they gave,
 was so incredibly great that it was heard to Sea. The
 People all jumped upon their Legs, there was no far-
 ther regard to the Diversions they came for, but all fell
 a leaping and dancing, and hugging one another: And
 all salute Titus with the Title of *Saviour and Defender*
of Greece. The Strength there is in Voices, and the
 many Relations we have of the wonderful Effects of it,
 were seen verified upon this occasion: For the Crows
 that were then accidentally flying over the Stage, fell
 down dead upon the Shout. The breaking the Air*

must needs be the Cause of it, for the Voices being numerous, and the Acclamation violent, and the parts of the Air separated from each other, they could no longer give Support to the Birds, but let them tumble; which would be the Case of any one that should attempt to walk upon a *Vacuum*, or such empty space, which affords nothing to set the Foot upon; unless we should rather imagine these Crows to fall and die, shot with the Noise as with a Dart. And withal, there may possibly be a circular agitation of the Air, acquiring (like Marine *Vortexes*) an additional strength from the Excess of its Fluctuation which whirls it round.

But for *Titus*, (the Sports being now quite at an end) so beset was he on every side, and by such Multitudes, that had he not, spying the Throng and Concourse of the People, timely withdrawn, he would scarce, it is thought, have ever got clear of them. But when they had tired themselves with Acclamations all about his Pavilion, and Night was now come, whatever Friends or Fellow-Citizens they saw, they fell embracing and hugging them, and from That to feasting, and carousing together. At which, no doubt, redoubling then their Joy, they begin to recollect and talk of the State of *Greece*, "What Wars she had run through in defence of her Liberty, yet was never perhaps Mistress of a more settled or grateful one, than what the Arms of Others had put into her hands: That by the Bounty of *Titus* She now bears away without, almost, one drop of Blood, without the mournful effects of War, the most glorious of Rewards, and best worth the contending for: That Courage and Wisdom are indeed Rarities amongst Men; but of all that is good, a just Man is the most scarce: For such as *Agessilaus*, *Lysander*, *Nicias*, and *Alcibiades*, knew how to play the General's part, how to manage a War, how to bring off their Men victorious by Land and Sea; but how to employ that Success to generous and honest purposes, they were far enough to seek. For should a Man except the Achievement

" at

" at *Marathon*, the Sea Fight at *Salamis*, the Engage-
 " ments at *Plataea*, and *Thermopylae*, *Cymon's* Exploits
 " at *Eurymedon*, and on the Coasts of *Cyprus*, *Greece*
 " fought all her other Battles against and to enslave her-
 " self. She erected all her Trophies to her own Shame
 " and Misery, and was brought to Ruin and Desolation
 " by the Villany and Ambition of her Rulers. But a
 " Foreign Nation, who could at best be supposed to re-
 " tain only some faint sparks of Remembrance of their
 " ancient Descent from us; a Nation from whom it
 " may be wondred that *Greece* should reap any design'd
 " Benefit, or indeed a good Word; yet These are They
 " who have retrieved *Greece* from her severest Pressures,
 " and deepest Extremities, have rescued her out of the
 " Hands of insulting Lords and Tyrants, and reinstated
 " her in her former Liberties.

Thus they entertained their Tongues and Thoughts,
 whilst *Titus's* Actions made good what had been pro-
 claimed: For he immediately dispatched away *Lentulus*
 to *Asia*, to set the *Bergillians* free; *Titillius* to *Thrace*,
 to see the Garrisons of *Philip* removed out of the Towns
 and Islands there; *Publius Julius* set sail in order to the
 treating with *Antiochus* about the Freedom of the *Gre-*
cians under Him. *Titus* Himself pass'd on to *Chalcis*,
 and after sailing thence to *Magnesia*, he discharg'd the
 Garrisons there, and surrendered the Government into
 the People's Hands. At *Argos* he was chosen Judge or
 Moderator of the *Nemæan* Games, and did his part in
 the Management of that Solemnity extraordinary well.
 There he made a second Publication by the Crier of
 Liberty to the *Grecians*: And still through all the Cities
 as he pass'd, he press'd upon them conformity to their
 Laws, a constant practice of Justice, Unity and Friend-
 ship One towards Another. The Seditious among them
 he quelled, the Banished he brought home; and in short,
 his Conquest over the *Macedonians*, gave him not a more
 sensible pleasure, than to find himself successful in re-
 conciling *Greeks* with *Greeks*, so that their Liberty
 seem'd

seem'd now the least part of the Kindness he conferred upon them.

The Story goes, that when *Lycurgus* the Orator had rescued *Xenocrates* the Philosopher from the Collectors who were hurrying him away to Prison for the *Metæcia*, (Taxes which Strangers residing at *Athens* were to pay) and prosecuted them at Law for the Affront offered to the Philosopher, he afterwards meeting the Children of *Lycurgus*, Children, says he, *I am not behind-hand with your Father in point of Gratitude; for all the World cries him up for what he did for me.* But the Returns which attended *Titus Quintius* and the *Romans* for their Beneficence to the *Greeks*, terminated not in empty Praises only; for these Proceedings gained them a deserved Credit and Trust in the World, and opened a new door to Empire. For not many Nations not only admitted of the Governors set over them by *Rome*, but even sent and intreated to be under their Protection. Neither was this done by the Populacy alone, by some petty Commonwealths, or single Cities; but Kings oppress'd by Kings cast themselves into their protecting hand. Insomuch that in a very short time, (by the assistance of Heaven) all the World did Homage to them. *Titus* also valued himself most upon the Liberty he restored to *Greece*; for having dedicated Silver Targets together with his own Shield, to *Apollo* at *Delpbi*, he inscribed upon them the following Verses.

*Triumph, ye Spartan Kings, ye Royal Twins,
The equal Sons of Tyndarus and Jove,
Who in swift Horsemanship have plac'd your Love,
Titus, sprung from the Great Æneas' Loins,
Presents to you of Grecian Progeny,
The best of Gifts, a regain'd Liberty.*

He offered also to *Apollo* a Golden Crown, with this Inscription on it;

This

*This Golden Crown upon thy Locks Divine,
 Thou bright Latona's Son, did Titus place ;
 Titus, the Leader of th' Ænean Race,
 Bestow on him some equal Strength to Thine,
 Thou distant-striking God ! that he
 May share a Glory with thy Deity.*

Now hath the same thing twice betided the *Grecians* in the City of *Corinth* : for *Titus* Then, and *Nero* again in our days, Both at *Corinth*, and Both alike, at the Celebration of the *Isthmian Games*, permitted the *Grecians* to enjoy their own *Laws* and *Liberty*. The Former, (as hath been said) proclaimed it by the Crier ; but *Nero* did it in the publick Meeting-place, from the Tribunal, in an Oration he there made to the People. But This happen'd a good while after. *Titus* after This commenced a gallant and just War upon *Nabis*, that most profligate and villanous Tyrant of the *Lacedæmonians* ; but herein at long-run he fail'd the Expectations of the *Grecians*. For when he had an Opportunity of taking him Prisoner, he slipt it, and struck up a Peace with him, leaving *Sparta* to bewail an undeserv'd Slavery. Whether it were that he fear'd, if the War should be protracted, *Rome* would send a new General who might rob him of the Glory of it ; or that the Emulation and Envy of *Philopœmen's* Wreaths, (a Man that had signaliz'd himself among the *Grecians* upon all other occasions, but in that War especially had done Wonders, both for matter of Courage and Counsel ; one whom the *Grecians* celebrated in their Theatres, and put into the same balance of Glory with *Titus*,) touch'd him to the Quick : For he scorn'd that an *Arcadian*, a Captain and Leader in a few Rencounters upon the Confines of his Country, should be look'd on by Them with an equal Admiration to the *Roman* Consul, who warr'd on the behalf of all *Greece*. But besides, *Titus* was not without an Apology too for what he did, (to wit,) that he put an end to the War only then, when he foresaw that the Tyrant's Destruction

struction must have been attended with a sweeping train of Ruin upon the other *Spartans*.

The *Achæans* indeed decreed, and studied, to honour *Titus* in many things, but none seem'd to come up to the height of the Actions that merited them, unless it were one Present they made him, which affected and pleas'd him beyond all the rest, and it was This: The *Romans*, who in the War with *Hannibal* had the Misfortune to be taken Captives, were sold about here and there, and dispers'd into Slavery; twelve hundred in number, were at that time in *Greece*. That turn of their Fortune always rendred them Objects of Compassion, but more particularly then, as well it might, when Some met their Sons, Some their Brothers, Some their Acquaintance, Slaves, Freemen, Captives, Conquerors. *Titus*, tho' deeply concern'd on their behalf, yet took None of them from their Masters by constraint. But the *Achæans* redeeming them at five *Mina* a Man, brought them all together into one place, and made a Present of them to Him, as he was just going on Ship-board; so that he now sail'd with a full Gale of Satisfaction; his generous Actions procured him as generous Returns, worthy of so brave a Man, and so great a Lover of their Country. This seem'd the most pompous part of all his succeeding Triumph; for these redeemed *Romans*, (as it is the Custom of Slaves upon the Manumission, to shave their Heads, and wear a peculiar kind of Caps) follow'd in that Habit *Titus's* Triumphant Chariot: But to add to the Glory of this Show, there were the *Grecian* Helmets, the *Macedonian* Targets and Javelins, and the rest of the Spoils born along in Pomp and Ostentation before him; besides vast Sums of Money; for, as *Itanus* relates it, there was carried in his Triumph three thousand seven hundred thirteen Pounds weight of Massy Gold, forty three thousand two hundred and seventy of Silver, fourteen thousand five hundred and fourteen Pieces of coin'd Gold, called *Philippicks*, all this over and above the one thousand Talents which

which *Philip* owed, and which the *Romans* were afterwards prevail'd upon, but chiefly by the Agency and Mediation of *Titus*, to remit to *Philip*, withal declaring him their Ally and Confederate, and sending him home his Hoftage-Son.

After This, *Antiochus* made an Expedition into *Greece* attended with a numerous Fleet, and powerful Army, foliciting the Cities there to Sedition and Rebellion; The *Ætolians* did abet and second him; for they of a long time had born a Grudge and fecret Enmity to the *Romans*, and now fuggested as a Cause and Pretext for the War, that He came to bring the *Grecians* Liberty; when alas, they never lefs wanted it, for they were free before; but, for want of a more fmooth and fpecious pretence, they put into his Mouth a Word of the near-ef and deareft Import. The *Romans*, in the Interim (fearing from Them an Infurrection and Revolt; and, from Him, the Reputation of his Puiffance) difpatch'd away the Consul *Manius Attilius* to take the charge of the War, with regard to *Antiochus*; and *Titus*, as Ambaffador, out of regard to the *Grecians*; Some of whom he no fooner faw but he confirm'd them in the *Roman* Interests: Others who began to falter (like a Phyfician that prefcribes Remedies in time, before the Dif-eafe feize the Vitals) he underprop'd and kept their Affections and Good-will they had born to him, from warping. Some few there were whom the *Ætolians* were before-hand with, and had fo wholly tainted and perverted, that he could do no good on them; yet Thefe, howfoever angry and exasperated he was againft them before, he faved and protected, when the Engagement was over. For *Antiochus*, receiving a defeat at *Tbermopylæ*, not only fled the Field, but hoifted Sail instantly for *Asia*. *Manius* the Consul laid Siege Himfelf to Some of the *Ætolians*; Others he allowed King *Philip* to ravage and wafte at his Pleafure; for instance, the *Dolopi* and *Magnetians* on one hand, the *Arbamani* and *Aperanti* on the Other, were haraffed and ranfack'd by the *Macedonians*, whilst *Manius* laid *Heracleæ* wafte, and

and besieg'd *Naupactus*, then in the Hands of the *Ætolians*. But *Titus* still with a commiserating care for *Greece*, made over from *Peloponnesus* to the Consul: At first he fell a chiding him, that the Victory should be owing alone to his Arms, and he to suffer *Philip* to bear away the Prize and Profit of the War: He to sit lazily wreaking his Anger upon a single Town, whilst the *Macedonians* over-ran several Nations and Kingdoms. *Titus* happen'd to stand then in view of the Besieged, they no sooner spied him out, but they called to him from their Wall, they stretched forth their Hands, they supplicated and intreated him; at that time he said not a Word more, by way of answer to Them or otherwise, but turning himself about with Tears in his Eyes, he went his way. Some little while after he discoursed the matter so effectually with *Manius*, that he wrought him off from Passion, and prevail'd with him to give a Truce and time to the *Ætolians*, to send Deputies to *Rome* to petition the Senate for terms of Moderation. But the hardest Task, and That which put *Titus* to the greatest Plunge, was to intercede with *Manius* for the *Chalcidians*, who had incens'd him on account of a Marriage, which *Antiochus* had solemnized in their City, even whilst the War was on Foot; a Match every way unsuitable as well as unseasonable, for He was far advanced in Years, and the Bride a very Girl; however he was deeply smitten, and charm'd with the Damsel. She was the Daughter of *Cleopolemus*, and none of the young Ladies there were comparable to her for Beauty: On this occasion, the *Chalcidians* both embrac'd the King's Interests with Zeal and Alacrity, and yielded him their City for his Retreat and Refuge during the War. Thither therefore *Antiochus* made with all speed, when he was routed and fled; and shelter'd himself in *Chalcis*, but without making any stay; for taking this young Lady, and his Money, and Friends with him, away he sailed to *Asia*. And now *Manius's* Indignation carrying him in all haste against the *Chalcidians*, *Titus* posted after him, endeavouring to assuage and divert the Storm: At length what with

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V

much Intreaties to Him, what with a sedulous application to Others of the greatest Quality and Interest in Rome, he work'd upon him.

The *Chalcidians* thus deriving their Safety from *Titus*, dedicated to him all the best and most magnificent of their Structures, which they had before consecrated to other Gods, whose Inscriptions may be seen to run thus to this Day. *THE PEOPLE* dedicate *THIS GYMNASIUM TO TITUS AND TO HERCULES*: So again, *THE PEOPLE* consecrate the place called *DELPHINUM, OR THE TEMPLE OF APOLLO, TO TITUS AND TO APOLLO*; and what is yet more, even to our time, there is a Priest of *Titus* formally elected and declared; besides, they sacrifice to him as to a God, and when their Libations are over, they sing a Song made on Purpose for the Occasion, much of which for the length of it we omit, but shall transcribe the close only.

*Roman Faith we all adore,
A Faith so white, a Faith so pure:
By all that's Sacred we ourselves adjure
To honour Roman Faith for evermore.
Sing, Muses, sing of mighty Jove,
Sing of Rome's and Titus' Love,
Repeated Io Pæan's too,
All to Roman Faith are due,
O Saviour Titus, and to You.*

Other parts of *Greece* also heaped Honours upon him suitable to his Merits; but that which conferred Honour on his very Honours, and stamped Sincerity and Truth upon them, was the wonderful Heartiness and Affection they did them with, upon a Sense of that Moderation and Equity that was natural to him. For if he were at any time at variance with any Body upon the account of Business, or in point of Emulation and Honour (as once with *Philopæmen*, and another time with *Diopbanes*, Prætor of the *Achæans*) his Resentments went not far,

nor did they ever break out into Acts ; but when it had vented itself in a freedom of discourse which is usual in publick Debates, there was an end of it. In fine, no Body charges Malice or Bitterness upon his Nature, but Many have imputed Hastiness and Levity to it ; but otherwise he was the most engaging Man for Conversation, in the World ; and spoke the most pleasant obliging things, with a great deal of Acuteness and Wit. For instance, designing once to divert the *Achæans* from their Purpose, who had the Conquest of the Isle *Zacynthus* in their Eye : *It will*, said he, *be as dangerous for the Achæans to put their Head out of Peloponnesus, as it is for a Tortoise to thrust His out of his Shell.* Again, when he and *Philip* first met to treat of a Cessation and Peace, the latter complaining that *Titus* came with a mighty Train, but Himself came ALONE and unattended. “ Yes, replies *Titus* smartly, you have made yourself “ ALONE, by killing your Friends and Relations “ out of the Way. At another time, *Dinocrates* the *Messenian*, having been fuddled at a Merry-meeting in *Rome*, danced there in a Woman’s Habit, and the next Day addressed to *Titus* for assistance in his Design to get *Messene* out of the *Achæans* Hands. “ I shall (says he) “ consider of it, but can’t but wonder that You who “ are enterprising such great Designs, can find leisure for “ Feasts and Revels.” When the Ambassadors of *Antiochus* were recounting to those of *Achæa*, the various multitudes of their Royal Master’s Forces, and ran over a long Catalogue of hard and sundry Names that they had, “ I supp’d once, (says *Titus*) with mine Host, and “ could not but chide him for that choice of Dishes he “ had got me ; and withal I admir’d whence he had “ so readily furnished himself with that store and variety ; mine Host tells me, Sir, to confess the truth, “ ’tis all Hog’s-meat, but the Sauce and Cookery has “ made it look like different sorts of Food. My Advice to you is the same, ye Men of *Achæa*, stand no “ more amazed at *Antiochus*’s Might, when ye hear “ them talk of Pike-men, Pioneers, Halberdiers, and “ the

“ the like, for they are All but *SYRIANS* different-
 “ ly arm’d.

After these his Gallantries perform’d in *Greece*, and that the War with *Antiochus* was at an end; *Titus* was created Censor, (which is the most eminent Office, and in a manner the Top Preferment in the Commonwealth.) The Son of *Marcellus*, who had been five times Consul, was his Colleague. These by virtue of their Office cashier’d four of the Senators, for not having Nobility enough of Birth to qualify them for the Place: They admitted All that offer’d themselves, to be inroll’d free Denizens of *Rome*, whose Parents had enjoy’d a Freedom before: But This was more by constraint than their own Choice: For *Terentius Leo*, the then Tribune of the People, to spite the Nobility, spurr’d on the Populacy to order it to be done. There were at this time in the City two most eminent and brave Persons, *Scipio Africanus*, and *Marcus Cato*, but there was no good Understanding betwixt them: The former *Titus* made President of the Senate, as a Man of principal Dignity and Worth, but grew an Enemy to *Cato* upon this unlucky Occasion; *Titus* had a Brother, *Lucius Flaminus*, in no respects of a Nature comparable to His, but highly dissolute and licentious in point of Pleasures, and a Scoffer at all Sobriety: There was a Youth whom he loved for a vicious Purpose, and used to be naught with: Him *Lucius* carried with him not only when he had an Army under him; but even when the charge of a Province was committed to him, this Lad still accompanied him thither: One Day at a drinking Bout, the Youngster wantoning with *Lucius*; I love you, Sir, so dearly (says he) that, preferring your Satisfaction before my Own, I have forborn seeing the Sword-Players, though I have never seen a Man killed in my Life. *Lucius* delighted with what the Boy said, Let not that trouble thee, my dear (said he) for if thou hast a Mind to see a Man kill’d, I’ll quickly satisfy thy longing; and with that, ordered a condemn’d Man to be fetch’d out of the Prison, and

the Executioner to be sent for, and commanded him to strike off the Malefactor's Head in the midst of their Jollity, before they rose from Table. *Valerius Antias* varies the Story a little, in that he tells us *Lucius* did not This to gratify his Boy, but his Mifs. But *Livy* out of the Oration of *Cato*, relates it, that a *Gaul*, who had been a Defenter, coming with his Wife and Children to the Door, *Lucius* took him into the Banqueting Room, and kill'd him with his own Hand, to gratify his Paramour. *Cato*, it is probable might say This by way of aggravation of the Crime he stood charg'd with: But that the Slain was no such Fugitive, but a Prisoner, and one condemn'd to die, as well *Cicero*, (as Others,) in his Treatise of Old Age, confirms; where he brings in *Cato* Himself, giving that account of the Matter. However This is certain: *Cato* during his Censorship, made a narrow and severe scrutiny into the Senators Lives, in order to the Purging and Reforming the House, and then put *Lucius* out, though he had been Consul. His Brother look'd upon This as a Proceeding that reflected Dishonour upon Himself. Hereupon Both of them came out, and appealed to the People in a supplicant submissive manner, not without Tears in their Eyes, requesting barely that *Cato* might but shew the Reason and the Cause of his fixing such a Stain and Infamy upon so honourable a Family. The Citizens thought it a modest and moderate Request. *Cato* for all This never shrunk for the matter, but out he came, and standing up with his Colleague, interrogated *Titus*, whether he knew the Story of the Treat. *Titus* answering in the Negative, *Cato* gave him a Relation of it, conjuring withal his Brother *Lucius* to say, whether every Syllable of it were not true. *Lucius* made no Reply, whereupon the People adjudg'd the Disgrace just, and suitable to his Demerits, and waited upon *Cato* home from the Tribunal in great State. But *Titus* still so deeply resented his Brother's degrading, that he struck in with Those who had born a long Grudge to *Cato*; and winning over a major part

of

of the Senate to him, he revok'd and made void all the Contracts, Leases, and Bargains made formerly by *Cato*, relating to the publick Revenues, and stirr'd up many and violent Actions and Accusations against him : But how well, and how like a good Citizen, I know not, for a Person to reserve an inveterate Hatred against a lawful Magistrate, an excellent Citizen, and in the Cause of a private Man, who stood indeed related to him, but unworthy to be so, and a Man who really deserv'd the affront that had been put on him. But notwithstanding all This, when afterwards a Show was exhibited to the People in the Theatre, the Senators sitting orderly up above as they were wont, *Lucius* was spy'd at the lower end, set in a mean dishonourable place : It made an Impression upon the People, nor could they longer endure the sight, but set a crying, Up, Up, Up, 'till he was got in among those of the Consular Dignity, who receiv'd him into their Seat. The natural Ambition of *Titus* was well enough look'd upon by the World, whilst the Wars we have given a Relation of afforded competent Fuel to feed it, as when after the Expiration of his Consulship he accepted of a Military Tribuneship, tho' nobody press'd it upon him : But being now out of all Employ in the Government, and advanced in Years, it could not but look oddly for a poor remainder of life, entirely unfit for Action, to strut and swell with the thoughts of Glory, and not able to contain itself, to put on the Passions of Youth. Some such Transport, 'tis thought, set him against *Hannibal*, an Action which lost him the Love and Hearts of Many. For *Hannibal* having fled his Country, first took Sanctuary with *Antiochus* ; but He having been glad to strike up a Peace after the Battle in *Phrygia*, *Hannibal* was put to shift for Himself by a second Flight, and after a Ramble through many Countries, fixed at length in *Bithynia*, proffering the Service of his Sword to *Prusias*. None at *Rome* but knew where he was ; but they looked upon him at the same time with Contempt, for his little Power, and great Age, and as One whom Fortune had quite cast off. *Titus* com-

ing Ambassador thither, (though 'tis true, he was sent from the Senate to *Prusias* upon another Errand,) yet seeing *Hannibal* resident there, it stir'd up Resentments in him to think that he was yet alive. And tho' *Prusias* used much Intercession and Intreaties in favour of him, as a Man of his Acquaintance, a Friend, a Suppliant that cast himself into his Arms for Refuge, *Titus* was not to be intreated. There was an ancient Oracle, it seems, which prophesied thus of *Hannibal's* End ;

Libyſſan Earth ſhall Hannibal incloſe.

He interpreted This to be meant of *Libya*, that is, *Africk*, and that he ſhould be buried in *Carthage*, as if he might yet expect to return and live there again, and only there to die. But there is a ſandy place in *Bithynia*, bordering on the Sea, and near That a little Village call'd *Libyſſa*. Hither it was *Hannibal's* chance to retire himſelf, and having ever from the beginning had a diſtrult of the eaſineſs and ductile Nature of *Prusias*, and a fear of the *Romans*, he had long before ordered ſeven Vaults, as ſo many Outlets, to be digged in his Houſe, leading from his Lodging, and running a great way under ground, and ſo many ſeveral Ways oppoſite to one another, but all undiſcernible from without : As ſoon, therefore, as he heard that *Titus* had ordered him to be taken, he attempted through theſe Caves to make his Escape ; but finding them beſet with the King's Guards, he reſolved upon making away with himſelf. Some ſay, that, wrapping his outward Garment about his Neck, he commanded his Servant to ſet his Knee againſt his Back, and not leave twiſting, and pulling of it, 'till he had quite ſtrangled and kill'd him. But Others ſay, he drank Bulls-blood, after the Example of *Themiſtocles* and *Midas* : *Livy* writes, that he had Poiſon in a readineſs, which he mixt for the purpoſe, and that taking the Cup into his Hand, " Let us eaſe (ſays he) the Romans of their continual dread and care, who think it

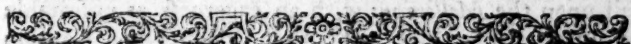
" long

“ long and tedious to wait the Death of an Hated Old Man. Yet shall not *Titus* gain a Conquest worth envying, nor Reputation equal to Those of his Predecessors, who sent to caution *Pyrrhus*, an Enemy, and Conqueror too, against the Poison prepared for him by Traitors.” Thus various are the Reports of *Hannibal*’s Death: But when the News of it came to the Senators Ears, Some had an Indignation against *Titus* for it, blaming as well his Officiousness as his Cruelty; who, when there was neither Reason of State, nor other Circumstance to oblige it, but out of preposterous Affectation of Glory, and to raise himself a Name from his dead Ashes, sent him to his Grave, who like a Bird depriv’d by old Age of all his beautiful Plumage, shou’d have been suffer’d to live tame.

Then began they to set out, with fresh Eulogies, the Clemency, the Courage, the Gallantry of *Scipio Africanus*; they admired him now more than ever; for when He had vanquished in *Africa*, the ’till then Invincible and Terrible *Hannibal*, He neither banished him his Country, or exacted it of his Countrymen, that they should put him into His Hands. Nay, at a Parley just before they join’d Battle, *Scipio* embrac’d him; and in the Peace made after it, he put no hard Article upon him, not insulted over his declin’d Fortune. Report goes, that they had another Meeting again at *Ephesus*, and as they were walking together, *Hannibal* industriously took the upper-hand; *Africanus* let him alone, and kept walking on without the least Concern: Afterwards they fell to talk of Generals; *Hannibal* affirming, that *Alexander* was the bravest Commander the World had ever seen, but next to Him *Pyrrhus*, and the third was Himself: *Africanus*, with a gentle Smile, asked, *What would you have said, if I had never vanquished you?* O *Scipio* (says he) *I would not then have made myself the Third, but First Commander.* The Generality of *Rome* had *Scipio* in Veneration for these Gallantries. But they observed so wide a Disparity in this Department

Deportment of *Titus*, that they reviled him, as one who had put his Sickle into other Mens Corn, and had laid his Hands upon dead Corps. Not but that there were Some who put a better Construction upon, and applauded the Action, who look'd upon a living *Hannibal* as Fire, which wanted only Bellows to blow it into a Flame. For when he was in the Prime and Flower of his Age, it was not his Body, it was not his Hand that struck Terror into the *Roman* Eagles, but his Head-piece, his Experience and Skill in martial Affairs, joined with an innate malice and inveterate rancour against the *Roman* Name, which Age could not impair. For the Temper and bent of the Soul keeps to its Pole, and participates of the same Nature still: But Fortune varies her Points, and even in her greatest Declination, she tempts with new hopes of Success, all such whom Hatred and Revenge keep ready list'd for Action. And what followed not long after, made still farther to the Justification of *Titus*. For first, *Arifonicus*, the Son of a Fidler's Daughter, upon the Reputation of being the natural Son of *Eumenes*, fill'd all *Asia* with Tumults and Rebellion. Then again, *Mitridates*, after a Total Rout given him by *Sylla* and *Fimbria*, and so vast a Slaughter, as well among his prime Officers, as common Soldiers, made head again against *Lucullus*, with a puissant Army both by Sea and Land. Besides, *Hannibal* was never reduced to so contemptible a State as *Caius Marius*, for the former had something reserved to him, the Amity of a King, a Pension and Subsistence under him, and a great connexion with the Officers employed in the Fleet and Army of *Prussias*. Whereas the condition of *Marius* was so despicable, as to be look'd upon by *Rome* with Laughter and Contempt, whilst he wander'd about *Africa* destitute and beggarly: And yet a little after, when in their own Streets their Backs were expos'd to the Rods, and their Necks to the Ax, they prostrated themselves to the same *Marius*. So that there is nothing either Great or Little at this Moment which will

will hold so to all Futurity ; for nothing puts an end to the mutability and vicissitude of things, but what does so to their very Being : Some therefore tell us, that *Titus* did not This of his own head, but that he was joined in Commission with *Lucius Scipio*, and that the whole Affair of the Embassy was to effect *Hannibal's* Death. But now that we find no farther Mention in History, of any thing done by *Titus*, either in point of War, or in the Administration of the Government, but that he died a natural Death, it is time to look upon him as he stands in comparison with *Philopœmen*.



The Comparison of T. Q. Flaminius with Philopœmen.

FIRST, if we consider the Extensiveness of the Benefits conferred by *Titus* on *Greece*, we shall find that neither *Philopœmen*, nor many braver Men than He, are able to stand in Competition with him. For they were all *Greeks* warring against *Greeks*, whereas *Flaminius*, tho' himself no *Greek*, fought in defence of *Grecians*. And at a time when *Philopœmen* unable to assist his Fellow-Citizens, who were closely besieged, and reduced to the last Extremity, passed over into *Crete*, then did *Titus*, by a Defeat given to *Philip* in the Heart of *Greece*, set both Them and all their Cities free. Again, if we examine into the Battles fought by each of them; *Philopœmen*, whilst he was the *Achæans* General, slew more *Grecians*, than *Titus* in aiding the *Grecians*, slew *Macedonians*. As to their Failings, Ambition was *Titus's* Weak-side, and Obstinacy *Philopœmen's*: In the Former, Anger was easily kindled ; in the Other, it was as hardly quenched. For *Titus* after he had conquer'd *Philip* left him in Possession

session of his Royal Dignity ; besides, he pardoned the *Ætolians*, and stood their Friend again : But *Philopæmen*, exasperated against his own Country, took from them the Contributions which the adjacent Villages paid. *Titus* was ever constant to Those he had once befriended ; the Other, upon any grudge, as prone to cancel kindnesses ; for He who had afore-time been a Benefactor to the *Lacedæmonians*, afterwards laid their Walls level with the Ground, wasted their Country, and in the end changed and destroyed the whole frame of their Government : He seems, in truth, to have needlessly thrown away his Life through Passion and Perverseness ; for he fell upon the *Messenians* with an eagerness as unsuitable as unseasonable, not with that Conduct and Caution with which *Titus* led on His Men. But the many Battles he fought, the many Trophies he won, got *Philopæmen* a deeper Experience ; for *Titus* decided the Matter betwixt *Philip* and Him in two Engagements, but *Philopæmen* came off victorious in Engagements without Number, to All which Fortune had almost no Pretence, so much was owing to his Skill. Besides, *Titus* got his Renown by making use of the Forces of a great and flourishing State ; whereas the Other acquired His under the Decline of *Greece* ; so that this Man's Gallantry was owing to Himself alone ; *Rome* shared in the Glory of the Other. The One had brave Men under him ; and the Other made His Brave by being over them ; and if the Great Actions of *Philopæmen*, which were turned against his own Countrymen the *Greeks*, will not prove him an happy or fortunate Man, they will shew the brave Man ; for when all other things are equal, great Successes must be owing to a superior Virtue. He had to do with two the most Warlike Nations of all *Greece*, the *Cretans* on the one hand, and the *Lacedæmonians* on the other ; the Craftiest of them he mastered by art and subtilty, the Stoutest he made to stoop to his Valour. It may be said withal, that *Titus* having his Men armed and disciplined to his Hand, reap'd Laurels ready wreathed for

for him ; whereas *Philopœmen* was forced to introduce a new Discipline, and Tactics of his Own, and to new-mould and model his Soldiery ; so as That which is of greatest Moment in gaining a Victory was the Invention of the Last, whilst the First only practised what was already in use. As to personal Exploits, there are Many of *Philopœmen*'s, None of *Flaminius*'s. Insomuch that one *Archedemus*, an *Ætolian*, in Rallery told him, " That whereas *Philopœmen* ran with his drawn Sword, " where he saw the *Macedonians* keep closest locked " and pressed him hardest, *Titus* stood still, fell a praying, and with Hands stretched out to Heaven, called " to the Gods for aid." It is true, *Titus* acquitted himself excellently well, both as a Governor, and as an Ambassador ; but *Philopœmen* was no less serviceable and useful to the *Achæans* in the Capacity of a private Man, than in that of a Commander. For when he was General he restored the *Messenians* to their Liberty, and cleared their City from *Nabis*. But when he rescued the *Lacedæmonians*, and shut the Gates of *Sparta* against the General *Diophanes* and *Titus*, who would have entered it, he was then but a private Person. He had a Nature so adapted and cut out for Empire and Command, that, when occasion serv'd or the Publick Good required it, he knew how to govern the Laws, and would not always suffer himself to be governed by Them ; for he waited not the Formality of being elected into Command by the Governed, but would confer a Command upon Himself, and expect to be served if the Case required it ; believing on such occasions, Him to be truly the General who consulted and understood their Interests, not who was chosen to the Employment. In fine, the Equity, Clemency, and Humanity of *Titus* towards the *Grecians*, speak a Great and Generous Nature in him ; but the Actions of *Philopœmen*, full of Courage, and forward to assert his Country's Liberty against the *Romans*, carry something Greater in them. For it is not a Task of that difficulty, to oblige the Distressed,

ressed, as it is to bear up against, and adventure angring the Powerful. To conclude, since it is hard to draw from the Premises the true difference of their Merits, and to Which a Preference is due; consider, Reader, whether we may seem to judge amiss betwixt them, if we let this *Grecian* Hero bear away the Crown for Experience in Military Affairs, and for Skill in commanding an Army, and the *Roman* for Justice and Clemency.



The End of the Third Volume.

